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Inter-European: Parliament Urges Compliance With Dayton Accord

LD1904083896 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0820 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, April 19 (TANJUG)—The European Parliament, just hours before a key peace deadline in Bosnia, called on Thursday for all the former combatants to abide by all aspects of the Dayton agreement.

"The European Parliament calls on the signatories of the Dayton agreement to show that they did indeed sign the accord in good faith, and to take decisive steps towards implementing both the spirit and the letter of the accord," the parliament said in a resolution, quoted by REUTER.

The international community is also urged to make use of economic sanctions to enforce cooperation with Dayton.

The parliament urged the European Union to pressure Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to use his influence on Bosnian Croats to help reunify the divided southern city of Mostar, a move they are blocking.

It called for cooperation of all the parties with the international war crimes tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in The Hague.

The parliament also welcomed the mutual recognition accord between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia following which EU countries fully normalised diplomatic relations with Belgrade.

Inter-European: Hungarian, Romanian Army Heads on NATO

AU1804184796 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 12 Apr 96 p 5

[Unattributed report on statements by Dumitru Cioflina, Romanian Army chief of staff, and Sandor Nemeth, Hungarian Army chief of staff, in Bucharest on 11 April]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Dumitru Cioflina: An Alliance That Includes the Former Warsaw Pact Countries Would Not Be Profitable for Romania

Dumitru Cioflina, chief of staff of the Romanian Army, during a news conference held on 11 April at the end of the visit paid by his Hungarian counterpart to our country, denied the statement made in Cluj-Napoca, according to which the victory of communists in the presidential elections in Russia might generate an alliance of some former Warsaw Pact countries with some countries of the former USSR outside NATO. He mentioned that it would have been illogical for him to make such a statement considering that he is a member of the government (secretary of state). "The process of NATO integration has two components: the political one, which is a priority, and the military one. From a military viewpoint, I believe that it is not necessary to have another alliance that would comprise the former Warsaw Pact countries, no matter how modern it would be. Such an alliance would not be profitable for Romania. Our option is concrete integration into NATO and, in the future, into the Western European Union. Therefore, one cannot talk here about a reconsideration of the viewpoint that I have held so far," said the chief of staff.

Sandor Nemeth in Bucharest: Admittance to NATO Depends 50 Percent on Us

"It is difficult to foresee the way in which the process of NATO integration will unfold. In this area of Europe, an unhealthy competition between the countries that wish to enter NATO might appear. However, we must avoid it. I believe that entry into NATO depends 50 percent on us and 50 percent on the North Atlantic Alliance member countries. If Hungary were to be admitted into NATO before Romania, we would not be very wise if we did not support Romania's integration because the security of Europe and of the world, a security system, cannot be achieved in a satisfactory manner unless all of the countries in the respective area belong to the same system," said Lieutenant General Sandor Nemeth, chief of staff of the Hungarian Army at the end of his visit.

Albania: Socialist Party Head Criticizes Government

AU1904112896 Tirana POLI I QENDRES in Albanian 18 Apr 96 p 2

[Statement by Socialist Party Chairman Skender Gjinushi, issued at a news conference held by the Pole of the Center in Tirana on 17 April: "Berisha Must Be Removed as Soon as Possible"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The present government is increasingly revealing its true face. Despite the massive vote of confidence it received on 22 March 1992, the ascent to power of such people as Sali Berisha, who have nothing in common with democracy, meant that on 26 July 1992 [date of local elections] 500,000 people had no confidence in their respected president. Supported by more than 1 million Albanians in 1992, he was opposed by more than 1 million Albanians in 1994.

Faced with these facts, the clans interested in Berisha's survival have been racking their brains for two years to decide what must be done to enable Sali to win the elections again. After calculating every possible move, they reached the conclusion that there is only one way:

Berisha can only win by competing against himself. This means eliminating everybody else. By what methods? The old ones. The Albanians accepted the ballot papers of the Democratic Front for 50 years for the sake of Enver, so why should they not do so for eight years for the sake of Sali? After all, they are of the same blood.

This is why the political restrictions embodied in Article Two of the Law on the Screening of Official Figures were concocted, on whose basis the puppet seven-member commission operates. Our objections to the anticonstitutional nature of this commission, its composition, the moment when it was created, and its lack of provision for an appeal are well known and documented. All these things have been denounced by serious international institutions such as the U.S. State Department, the U.S. Congress Commission, Helsinki Watch, PS, IS [expansions unknown], etc. However, one of the characteristics of dictatorship is not to listen to criticism and objections. Anybody who criticizes is considered an enemy of democracy.

In the teeth of this reality, we lodged our demand to fully expose Sali's notorious law and inquisitorial commission. Under the coercion of the corrupted people who surround him, Berisha added the phrase that those who acted against the official line [of the communist regime] or who publicly dissociated themselves from it are exempt from this law. Although we provided all the necessary documentation to prove that we meet the conditions envisaged by this phrase, documents that are mostly well known to the public, the president in his decree remained within the bounds of the neodictatorshop that he is so enthusiastically establishing, and obstructed our candidature.

Without making the effort to listen to us even formally, the special court of seven nonentities has performed an act without historical precedent: It has made a decision without asking the person concerned.

Sali knows perfectly well that even the party basic organizations in which he was such a zealous militant or the cogs of the party-state that were the mechanism of the dictatorship that he supposedly seeks to condemn did not take disciplinary decisions without hearing out the person involved. Nor did the inquisition. This behavior shows that everything was decided in advance.

Thus Sali and his regime unmask themselves. This shows that they have lost their impetus and have understood nothing about democracy. The entire public has solved the riddle of why it was none other than Berisha who came to the fore in November 1990. Many may wish to believe that he was chosen to take the lead because people recognized his democratic spirit or his emancipated ideas. But this is not at all true. There is no way that a person who cannot rid himself of dictatorial methods in a democracy can have been a democrat under a dictatorship. One can therefore rightly conclude that Sali is a body that someone has thrown into the current of democracy. The current bore him aloft, but this body has now blocked the current and is preventing its further progress, and must be removed as soon as possible.

Because it was Berisha who started political trials, we will turn to the courts. On the basis of the article of the Constitution, we will turn to the Court of Appeal to expose the policemanlike behavior of the current regime.

As witnesses we will call for:

1. The public in 1990 and 1991, who will testify who was the first to speak out in favor of a multiparty system, a market economy, a free press, and emigration, and we will also testify whether Albanian education made better progress and took clearer steps toward Europe when I was minister or under the four years of presidential government.

2. Ramiz Alia, Xhelil Gjoni, and Sali Berisha, who will say who supported trials to bring people to heel and who was dispatched or commanded to play the role of democrat, and who will also say who it was who howled against the disobedient students and on 9 December

transmitted to them the orders of Comrade Xhelil in Comrade Xhelils Mercedes.

3. Already deposited documents.

4. Unedited film and recordings of the meetings of the students with R. Alia and Sali Berisha, not sequences manipulated by the radio-television;

5. Dozens of students, teachers, and ministers who were present at these events.

Bulgaria: Zhelev, EBRD President Discuss Reforms

AU1804164596 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 18 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Today President Zhelyu Zhelev and EBRD President Jacques de Larosiere held a frank discussion on the economic reform processes in Bulgaria, their critical aspects, and ways to overcome the latter. President Zhelev voiced his approval of the EBRD's firm intention to reorient its activities in Bulgaria in strict compliance with the institution's basic principles, that is, to use 60 percent of the funds to stimulate the private sector and to employ most of the remaining 40 percent as aid for infrastructure projects. The Bulgarian president confirmed his wish to support any government that implements the economic transformations of vital importance for the country that lead to a lasting revival of the private sector.

Bulgaria: Zhelev Criticizes Cabinet's View on NATO

AU1904072396 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 19 Apr 96 p 2

[DUMA PRESS report: "Zhelev Attacks Cabinet on NATO"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] On 18 April in a radio interview, President Zhelev accused the socialist government of threatening the country's security as a result of not having a clear policy on NATO membership. [passage omitted]

Zhelev, who visited the village of Dibich, told the local citizens that by entering NATO Bulgaria will have for the first time in its history the support all great world democracies. I do not approve of the intention of Videnov and his cabinet to sit on two chairs, and their dangerous vacillating on the issue of Atlantic structures, President Zhelev said.

Bulgaria: Pavlov Rules Out Participating in Balkan Axis

AU1904114896 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 19 Apr 96 p 4

[Interview with Bulgarian Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov by Irena Marinova; place and date not given: "Including Bulgaria in Balkan Political Axes Is Mere Hypothesis"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Marinova] Minister Pavlov, could you comment on the hazing of soldiers at the Gorna Banya tank brigade?

[Pavlov] The case is under investigation. When the truth is established, we will take the appropriate disciplinary measures.

[Marinova] Yes, but were senior soldiers not dismissed for hazing young soldiers?

[Pavlov] They have not been dismissed as yet.

[Marinova] Could you comment on the report that Belgrade is preparing a political alliance of Bulgaria, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and Romania?

[Pavlov] I read about this in the newspapers. This is a hypothesis and anyone is free to interpret it as he wants. In the past we have been included in a Turkey-Bulgaria-Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]-Albania axis. Now they are including us in another axis. One thing is clear: Nothing can happen in the Balkans without Bulgaria.

[Marinova] Who is including us in axes and what is the goal?

[Pavlov] Whoever wants to promote his own interest, rather than the interest of Bulgaria.

[Marinova] When is Russian Defense Minister Grachev arriving in Bulgaria?

[Pavlov] Grachev will come, but he has plenty of problems in Russia, so his visit has been postponed. Regarding the shipment of Russian tanks, everything is progressing normally. I cannot commit myself to a specific date, but once they move, they will arrive quickly.

[Marinova] Is the document on dialogue with NATO, which was distributed only to the members of the Commissions on National Security and on Foreign Policy, secret?

[Pavlov] Possibly, the Foreign Ministry takes such a position. We have already shared the document with the NATO leadership. Perhaps the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is concerned over the intensified public debate.

[Marinova] What will the next stage be?

[Pavlov] There will be meetings between Bulgarian and NATO experts. The dialogue must be completed by the end of the year.

Bulgaria: Maneuvers With Greece To Be Held 11-15 May

AU1904072296 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 19 Apr 96 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Bulgaria, Greek Officers To Take Part in Maneuvers Near Struma"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 18 April, the cabinet decided to hold a command-staff exercise "Struma-96" on the territories of Bulgaria and Greece from 11 to 15 May. The ground maneuvers, in which also representatives of the Civil Defense will take part, must now be approved by parliament. They are a part of implementing the Plan on Bilateral Military Cooperation Between Sofia and Athens. Staff officers of the First Army and the Greek Armed Forces, as well as members of the Sandanski and Xeres municipal authorities will also take part in the maneuvers.

The concluding phase of the exercise will take place on 16 May in the vicinity of the city of Sandanski, where the two sides will coordinate actions in cases of natural disasters along the border. One of the exercise's goals is to improve the operational coordination between our Army and NATO forces, our military experts said.

Bulgaria: FRY Left Official Rejects Kovacovic Statement

AU1804193496 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 18 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The FRY and Bulgaria are friendly countries, and there cannot be any secret plans to destabilize your country. I cannot believe in statements of this kind, especially when they are made by an unbalanced, mentally ill person. The statements are best described as political phantasmagorias. This comment was made to BTA by a member of the leadership of the Yugoslav Left who requested anonymity, in connection with the statement made by Ivan Kovacevic, spokesman of the Serbian Renewal Movement, regarding the existence of some kind of strategic plan in the event of the Russian Communists' leader Zyuganov being elected president.

Worthy of special attention is the passage in Kovacovic's statement quoted by NASA BORBA: Serbia and Russia might work to destabilize the regimes in Romania and Bulgaria with the aim of creating a new Warsaw Pact that might be formed in Belgrade and would be called the Belgrade Pact.

Bulgaria: Ambassador Denies Aim To Build Russian Bases

AU1904075796 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 19 Apr 96 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Supposedly, Grachev Has not Invoked Russian Bases in Bulgaria"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 18 April, Russian Ambassador Aleksandr Avdeyev told journalists that Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev has not invoked the establishment of Russian bases in Bulgaria.

"We checked and established that Grachev has not made a statement on deploying our troops on your territory," Avdeyev said in connection with the speculations that Grachev has threatened NATO with the establishment of Russian bases in Bulgaria if NATO expands to the East.

However, such threats were issued yesterday by Russian Ambassador to Hungary Ivan Aboymov. The ambassador, as quoted by the BTA, said: "If Hungary joins NATO, Russia will be forced to adopt military measures because NATO is a military organization."

NATO Secretary General Solana said yesterday in Warsaw that NATO expansion is inevitable, and promised that Poland will be admitted "very soon," BTA reports. Solana, who arrived in Poland on 18 April, rejected Moscow's proposal, according to which the former socialist countries could join only NATO's political structures, and not its military structures. However, he noted that NATO's eastward expansion, which is inevitable, should not isolate Russia.

Bulgaria: Konakchiev, Russian Ambassador Discuss Trade

AU1904114196 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 19 Apr 96 p 13

[Unattributed report: "Deputy Prime Minister Konakchiev Discusses Economic Cooperation With Ambassador Avdeyev"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Early yesterday, Deputy Prime Minister Doncho Konakchiev and Russian Ambassador to Bulgaria Aleksandr Avdeyev discussed issues of economic cooperation, Mr. Avdeyev told journalists upon leaving the Council of Ministers.

According to him, the talks were related to the implementation of major projects in which both countries are involved. Mr. Avdeyev told journalists that the Topenergy issue has not been discussed, that the supply of natural gas to Bulgaria in 1996 is an issue that has already been resolved, and that the concern regarding Topenergy has been artificially fanned.

We understand that Bulgaria is interested in the issue of customs alleviations. We will do everything possible to resolve this issue as soon as possible, the Russian ambassador said.

The tanks that Russia promised Bulgaria are now in the northern Urals, but the transportation issue is complicated because there is no railroad. Nevertheless, Ambassador Avdeyev said that preparations are being made for their shipment to Bulgaria.

Czech Republic: Daily Comments on U.S.-ROK Peace Initiative

AU1804145196 Prague PRAVO in Czech 18 Apr 96 p 6

[Article by Jiri Roskot: "The Korean Initiative Has Come in Time"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The U.S.-South Korean initiative for quadrilateral talks on a lasting peace on the Korean peninsula after a 43-year cease-fire—announced on Tuesday [16 April] by Presidents Bill Clinton and Kim Yong-sam—comes in time and encompasses a broader range [of issues].

In time because, to say the least, it launches an exchange of views and opinions with North Korea (DPRK) at a period when the fate of the cease-fire agreement that ended the Korean War (1950-53) has tilted precariously. Broader because the proposal, quite logically, reckons with the participation of South Korea, whose border is involved, and also with China.

President Clinton called for patience on Tuesday and added that replies from Pyongyang and Beijing cannot be expected immediately. This is also obvious. But it is important that the proposal has not, in any case, been swept off the table. It could play the role of an outlet both in Sino-U.S. relations and, at last, between the two Korean states, whose points of view are coming to a head. It gives China and the United States an opportunity to work together on a very important international political issue and means that they would not be dealing with one another exclusively on disagreements over the concept of human rights or violations of copyright protection. Thus, the possibility of U.S. sanctions against Chinese goods worth $2 billion could be pushed into the background.

In the region itself—or, rather, directly in the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) along the demarcation line between the two Korean states—extremely aggravated conditions prevail. At the beginning of April, heavily armed North Korean troops entered the DMZ three times, which provoked an agitated response. On 12 April, the spokesman for the DPRK Foreign Ministry said in connection with this, among other things, that the South Koreans had deployed, at variance with the cease-fire agreement, heavy weapons in the southern part of the DMZ and "are now even establishing positions a mere 100 meters from the demarcation line. The DPRK has responded to this. The DPRK has officially expressed its willingness to adhere to the current cease-fire until a new system for guaranteeing peace is drawn up and has proposed that the cease-fire agreement be amended by a provisional agreement on preventing chance clashes in the DMZ," declared the spokesman. He described the United States as a real party to the cease-fire agreement.

It is obvious that neither the North nor the South trusts the current regime—in an atmosphere of mutual recrimination—on the border between the Korean states and that the time has come to ask what will happen next, regardless of whether this is by the means proposed by Presidents Clinton and Kim or otherwise.

Czech Republic: UK's Major Discusses NATO, EU With Klaus

LD1804224896 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 2100 GMT 18 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] British Prime Minister John Major has ended his visit to the Czech Republic, made at the invitation of Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus. Olga Krupauerova reports:

[Krupauerova] During talks with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus during his visit, John Major concentrated on the enlargement of the European Union and NATO. Speaking at a news conference today, he said that NATO will enlarge, but it will be neither a fast process nor a process involving more distant countries. John Major added:

[Major in English fading to Czech report] Clearly, that will concentrate in the first instance on Central Europe. It is obvious that Central Europe and, above all, the Czech Republic and its neighbors will be the first to join NATO.

However, one should take into account, Major said, that NATO's enlargement brings with it duties for both the existing alliance and its future members.

The British prime minister said that, during his talks with Vaclav Klaus, he had also discussed specific steps that should precede accession to the European Union.

Czech Republic: SCK Withdraws From Elections

AU1904085096 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 18 Apr 96 p 3

[Article by Marketa Matouskova and CTK: "The Stepanites Have Quit the Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Stepan's Party of Czechoslovak Communists (SCK) was yesterday the first entity to quit de facto the parliamentary elections when it categorically refused to pay the election deposits.

Stepan's party was the first of the small parties—which by and large have had problems finding the money—to announce that it will not put down within the deadline the election deposit of 200,000 korunas [Kc] for each electoral district. The Nationwide Caucus of Citizens also has the same problem. The Czech Right has apparently already paid the deposit; the Independents are seemingly preparing to do so soon; and Mecl's Party of the Democratic Left will pay it today. The deadline for paying the deposits is three days after the announcement that the lists of candidates have been registered—that is, by the end of this week.

SCK General Secretary Miroslav Stepan yesterday justified the intention not to pay the election deposits by declaring that he considers them unconstitutional: "For us, the deposits are not a question of money; this is a matter of higher principle." Despite this, he wants his party to take part in the election campaign. The SCK will send a message about its involvement in the elections to the European Parliament, the EU states, and human rights organizations. The SCK submitted a proposal to the Constitutional Court on Tuesday [16 April] that the deposits be abolished.

The Right Bloc has decided to follow a different path. It would like to resolve the issue of the election deposits—for which, at the moment, it does not have the money—by circumventing the law: with the assistance of the ballot papers, which it would have printed itself. The grouping's spokesman, Premysl Vachalovsky, confirmed this for LIDOVE NOVINY yesterday and added that the election law only makes printing the ballot papers conditional on paying the deposits, but not participation in the elections. Vachalovsky hopes that the Right Bloc would find a kindred entity that would print the almost 8 million papers for it for nothing.

Central Electoral Commission Chairman Tomas Valer, however, claims that it is impossible for a party that wants to take part in the elections to see to printing the ballot papers on its own. An edict from the ministry regulates the form of the ballot papers. According to the election law, the chairmen of the regional electoral commissions arrange for them to be printed.

A "sponsored breakfast on the lawn" to be held on Prague's Zofin Island on Saturday [20 April] morning is the last chance for the Right Bloc to get the Kc1.6 million necessary for the election deposits.

Czech Republic: Entrepreneurs To Keep Baranek as Chairman

AU1904113296 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 18 Apr 96 p 2

[Article by "(pas)": "Baranek Is To Remain Chairman of the Entrepreneurs"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The chairman of the Association of Entrepreneurs, Rudolf Baranek, was confirmed in his post yesterday. This decision was made by 95 percent of the Association's delegates at their general assembly. Some 85 delegates from district associations in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia were present. The remaining 5 percent abstained.

The deputy chairmen of Baranek's entrepreneurs—Pavel Dvorak, Jaromir Schubert, and Miroslav Valenta—notified us on Monday [15 April] of the vote on whether Baranek should remain in his post. At the same time, in their statement, they expressed their disagreement with the entrepreneurs' recent activity being associated in particular with the Free Democrats-Liberal National Social Party [SD-LSNS]. Apparently a repercussion of the Association's politicization was its expulsion from the Confederation of Employers Unions. We were informed of this by the president of the Association of Employers Unions, Pavel Ernst. The delegates at the Association of Entrepreneurs' assembly also made note yesterday of the resignation of P. Dvorak from his post as first deputy chairman. He stepped down because of his apparent disagreement with Baranek remaining in the most senior post. However, he continues to be a rank-and-file member of the Association. The chairman of the Association of Road Transporters of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, Bedrich Danda, should become the first deputy chairman. Baranek said yesterday that the Association of Entrepreneurs has in its ranks members of political parties "from the center to the right" and they create a certain "web" incorporating the coalition parties. He emphasized that it rejects a union only with the SD-LSNS. He himself, however, is on this party's list of candidates in South Moravia. A political agreement has been concluded between the SD-LSNS and the Party of Entrepreneurs, Tradesmen, and Farmers, of which Baranek is also the chairman. In this connection, the entrepreneurs' party should pay the liberals more than 8 million korunas for its potential involvement in parliament.

Slovakia: President Discusses Self-Administration Bill

AU1804150296 Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 18 Apr 96 pp 1-2

[Interview with Slovak President Michal Kovac by Ivan Rajecky; place and date not given: "President Michal Kovac Is Against Boosting Powers of Government Employees"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Rajecky] Mr. President, the bill you returned for further discussion in the parliament disturbs above all the self-administrations, as they consider it faulty. What do you believe the Association of Cities and Communities of Slovakia [ZMOS] should do to have the bill passed in the new debate, with some parts rephrased, according to their comments and demands?

[Kovac] There is a chance of success in some issues, above all those concerning Bratislava, and for this reason I returned the bill. It will depend on the efforts exerted, particularly on the part of municipal officials, with the aid of ZMOS, in relation to the deputies. The example of Kosice, where they satisfied their demands in the first discussion, demonstrates how rewarding a good strategy is. Joint efforts must be exerted, and the hesitant deputies convinced to support the new formulation of the bill.

[Rajecky] Concerns emerged in the lobby at the [ZMOS] assembly that the government will gradually cut the powers of the self-administrations and attempt to concentrate state powers.

[Kovac] It would be very bad if there were an attempt to boost powers of the state bodies to the detriment of the self-administrations. That would be neither a path toward democracy nor the optimal way to rapidly raise our economic, social, educational, and cultural standards. After all, we know today that a real chance to solve problems exists only where officials are directly dependent on citizens. In the instance of government employees, currently everything depends on what their superiors like or dislike at any given moment. It is different, however, with the employees of a communal or a municipal office. It is common knowledge all over the world that problems should be approached with knowledge of the matter, and as close to the citizen as possible. Hence any boost given to the powers of government employees is contrary to the needs of our society.

[Rajecky] Opinions have also emerged that the president could have expressed his criticism of the bill on the territorial and administrative arrangement of the state already during its preparation. Why did you not do this?

[Kovac] The president expressed his opinion, and the deputies were aware of it prior to the vote. The problem lies, however, elsewhere. The Government Legislative Council does not make it possible for us to actively participate in the talks at the stage when the bills were being prepared for the government. It used to be a matter of fact for the head of the Legislative Department of the President's Office to take part in such talks. He could receive the bills, and report the president's stand on them to the Government Legislative Council in time. Unfortunately, for well known reasons, this does not work now, my possibilities are limited, and I am left with the last resort, which is to not sign the bill and return it for a new discussion. If we had, however, different regulations enshrined in the Constitution, which may be unavoidable in the future—namely, that when the president does not sign the bill, and returns it to the parliament for another discussion, a simple majority will no longer suffice—but this would have to be adopted as a constitutional law—returning the bill would provide a realistic chance for the need to obtain support for the bill from both the opposition and the coalition deputies.

Slovakia: Demonstration Against Penal Code Amendment Planned

AU1804082096 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 17 Apr 96 p 2

[Article by Ivan Sedlar: "Action Initiative for the Preservation of Freedom Is Growing"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—By its decision to amend the Penal Code, Slovakia has taken another dangerous step away from the community of democratic countries. This is stated in an appeal for the preservation of freedom, issued by the Action Initiative for the Preservation of Freedom (AIZS). As its representatives told a news conference yesterday, the AIZS comprises some 20 organizations, and new organizations are joining in. In their opinion, the Penal Code amendment violates the Constitution of the Slovak Republic and the Charter of Basic Human Rights and Freedoms. They labeled as dishonest government coalition claims that identical laws are also in force in countries with an advanced democracy. They also reported on activities organized thus far to protest the Penal Code amendment.

The last of them was staged at the rally of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] [in the Bratislava-Pasienky indoor sports arena on 11 April] when three AIZS activists unfurled a protest banner, at which they were physically assaulted by HZDS supporters. The AIZS will proceed with its petition against the aforementioned amendment, with discussion meetings with students at universities and dormitories and with the public in Slovakia's regions, and with the production of information materials. It is preparing for 25 April a large rally against the Penal Code amendment, to be held at Slovak National Uprising Square in Bratislava.

[Bratislava SME in Slovak on 17 April on page 2 carries a 300-word report by "ata, jav" on the AIZS briefing. According to the report, in an "appeal addressed to members of the government and the central director of Slovak Television," the AIZS protests that "the public service corporation does not provide any information on the protest activities against the Penal Code amendment and viewers are exposed to one-sided information." The AIZS "demands" that, "in view of the mounting civic resistance against the Penal Code amendment," Slovak Television organize a "public discussion, in which both supporters and opponents of the amendment will be able to present their positions." According to the SME report, the AIZS also considers it "startling" that "the HZDS leadership has not denounced the conduct of those among its supporters who physically assaulted AIZS activists."]

Slovakia: Prime Minister Defends Criminal Code Amendment

LD1704224196 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 2200 GMT 17 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said today in a current affairs program on Slovak television called: What next, Prime Minister? that the goal of the amendment to the Penal Code is, first and foremost, to secure the indivisibility of the Slovak Republic's territory and to protect its internal security and sovereignty as well as its constitutional system.

He said that other countries have similar laws, too, and stressed that it is in society's interest to draw attention to risks and to protect its interests by means of the criminal law.

Slovakia: Karabin Replaces Plank as Chief Justice

96CH0069A Karabin SLOVAK SPECTATOR in English 27 Feb 96 pp 1, 3

[Article by Rick Zednik: "Change in Chief Justice Marks Change in an Era"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] With Karol Plank resigning as chief justice of the Supreme Court and Milan Karabin taking his place, Slovakia's legal community will witness the change from one era characterized by the creation of a legal framework for an independent Slovakia to one that will enhance the country's enforcement of law and order.

Plank was plucked from the world of academia in 1990 to establish a judiciary unshackled by Communism's legacy as a tight network of loyal pawns. During his tenure, Plank gained plaudits from judicial and political leaders for successfully establishing an independent judiciary in Slovakia, a foundation that by virtue of Slovakia's relatively short history, remains sensitive and subject to political cynicism.

Plank's January 24 announcement came little more than a month after he had publicly refuted criticism from a high-ranking official in the Finance Ministry that caused some in legal and political circles to suggest that Plank's decision was not his own.

"It had to be a political decision," said Robert Fico, a lawyer and member of parliament's constitution and law committee for the Party of the Democratic Left (SDL). "There was a lot of pressure on him to decide as he did."

The source of that pressure, according to Fico and other opposition politicians, was criticism leveled by Deputy Finance Minister Jozef Magula after the Supreme Court overruled the Ministry's decision to cancel the PSIS investment firm's license. Following Magula's comment to Slovak Television that "people's characters are being formed, including those of the people in justice," Plank took the unusual step of defending his court in the press in December.

But Plank, 68, insists his decision to step down after nearly six years as chief justice was all his own.

"There was no pressure, no medical considerations," a robust-looking Plank told THE SLOVAK SPECTATOR while sitting in his new, undecorated office.

Then he proudly noted that he outlasted many of his contemporaries from the wholesale turnover in 1990. "I saw six ministers of justice and four prosecutor generals during my term," he said with a smile.

Plank, who helped write Czechoslovakia's federal constitution as well as Slovakia's and who has authored books on Slovak civil law, said he looks forward to more creative work. "The Ministry of Justice asked me to help with the new civil procedural code," he said, calling the offer "very attractive."

Just as skeptics viewed Plank's resignation as politically inspired, some thought likewise of Karabin's nomination. Although Karabin, a judge for 22 years including 14 on the Supreme Court, was widely seen as a worthy candidate for chief justice, some members of the opposition in Parliament mumbled that he is close to the Slovak National Party and that that helped him gain office.

Karabin refuted the whispering. "Whether a judge has opinions of parties is personal and does not affect his decisions," Karabin, a former senate chairman in the Supreme Court's criminal law branch, told THE SLOVAK SPECTATOR. "I want to make sure the court's direction will not move according to politics, but according to law. We don't want to make the court closer to one party or another."

In fact, Karabin's nomination passed easily in Parliament with support from the opposition as well as the coalition. "There was no reason to vote against it," said the SDL's Fico. "We need a new chief justice. (Karabin) is the best choice from among the potential candidates."

Part of the reason there was no political battle for who would be the new chief justice may be the fact that the position does not carry as much power as it does in some other countries.

"Of course, (the chief justice) has influence, but it is mainly administrative," said Igor Belko, a judge who has sat on the Supreme Court since 1993. "There is no influence in the decision-making."

But the title does carry clout, said one leading politician who has known Plank for 20 years. "His influence depends on informal authority," said Jozef Marovcik, a former law professor and the current chairman of the Democratic Union.

The chief justice—or president, as he is called in Slovak—and vice-president are elected by Parliament from among Supreme Court members. Supreme Court judges serve life terms, but the positions of president and vice-president can be held for only up to two five-year terms.

As the first chief justice of a new era, Plank may have set a tone for how this authority is exercised. Described as a "strong personality" by Moravcik, and as "very wise and experienced" by Belko, Plank was the consummate mentor to his colleagues and students at the Comenius and Kosice University law faculties, where he taught civil law for four decades. Many of his former students, including Belko, are now among the Supreme Court's 81 judges. Over the past six years, they often sought him out for advice on difficult cases. "There was no problem to go to him and talk," said Belko.

Plank was named chief justice of the Slovak Supreme Court in 1990, after the Velvet Revolution. The new government was seeking someone who was not tied to the old Communist regime when "90 percent" of the judges were party members, according to Plank. "I've done what was expected," he said. "We've secured independence and a good reputation for our legal system."

Karabin said his aim is to strengthen the Supreme Court's reputation for independence and "to ensure that the number of criminal cases will be heard as quickly as possible." In contrast to Plank, who is an internationally-recognized civil law specialist, Karabin is a no-nonsense expert in criminal law. He is quick to point out that Slovakia's crime rate has risen since 1989, especially in areas like drug-trafficking, and that this has put added strain on the criminal justice system.

Slovakia: TV: Former Kidnapping Investigators Forged Testimony

AU1904072196 Bratislava SME in Slovak 18 Apr 96 pp 1-2

[Article by "pt": "Slovak Television Accused Former Investigators of Michal Kovac Jr.'s Kidnapping of Having Falsified Witnesses' Testimony"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—"The case of Michal Kovac Jr.'s abduction abroad was investigated by my investigators. Simultaneously, however, an investigating team was established that was based in a different building and over which I had no authority. The chief of this team was Mr. Lamacka. I think that there you might obtain information on whether there had been any falsification of witnesses' testimony," J. Satek, former director of the Regional Office of Investigations in Bratislava, said in an interview for SME. He was reacting to STV's [Slovak Television] information of 17 April that it had obtained information on how the investigation of Michal Kovac Jr.'s kidnapping was conducted. STV editor I. Kubis said the station obtained from a person close to the investigating commission headed by National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] Deputy L. Pittner "important official records on this procedure." As STV news continued, "it is apparent from these records that they had been deliberately falsified by the former investigators, who were changing witnesses' testimony, that is, unlawfully tampering with the process of investigation. (...) An unnamed Ministry of Interior source confirmed to us today the existence of a well-founded suspicion of the falsification of official records. When they confronted the contents of these records with the testimony given later by witnesses, they concluded that the former investigators had added facts to the records that the witnesses never mentioned and which they subsequently did not confirm. This concerns both the Mercedes van that had supposedly been used for surveillance and the identification and movement of other vehicles and persons that were supposed to have been in Svaty Jur at the time in question."

Deputy L. Pittner rejected the possibility of information leaks from his investigating team. "I. Kubis's statement is outrageous and an absolute lie. The commission that I chair never had the documents that were shown on the television screen," he added. If I. Kubis knows about the criminal activity of some investigators, L. Pittner said, he should sue them. "If he fails to do so, he will himself violate the law. Or he is lying, in which case STV, a public corporation, is spreading typical disinformation," L. Pittner stressed.

According to information of the daily SME, there exists a media group headed by M. Sasky, the Slovak Information Service [SIS] employee in charge of public relations, who cooperates with two leading employees of STV news. M. Sasky's task is to provide information from the SIS Analytical Department. He then edits this information, together with the two aforementioned persons, so that it can be issued by Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] deputies as their personal statements on Michal Kovac Jr.'s kidnapping and the Technopol case.

[The STV report alleging that Jaroslav Simunic and Peter Vacok, former investigators of the Kovac Jr. kidnapping, were forging witnesses' testimony is also the subject of a 700-word article by "mad, maj," entitled "Former Investigators Were Supposedly Changing Testimonies," in Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 18 April on pages 1 and 6. The article says: "Should the former investigators' unlawful interference in the process of investigation be confirmed—at least one of them, Major Simunic, made no secret of his being inclined toward the Christian Democratic Movement—the whole affair will be given a new dimension and the so-called independent investigating commission, made up of seasoned intelligence agents, will have to go from the offensive to the defensive. It is still premature to draw any conclusions today, but the recently published information provides a logical explanation for the countless unclear points in this case." According to the SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA article, the STV report also sheds new light on the Austrian court decision not to extradite Michal Kovac Jr. to Germany: "If the Austrian judicial bodies were deciding on the basis of doctored information, one cannot be surprised at their verdict and the accusations leveled against Slovak state agencies. It is legitimate to doubt, however, whether this verdict was justified and based on a reliable foundation."]

Slovakia: Rift Within ZRS Revealed

96CH0069C Bratislava SLOVAK SPECTATOR in English 27 Feb 96 pp 1, 9

[Article by Daniel Borsky: "ZRS Suffers Political Leprosy"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] "The emergence of an entirely new platform from within the Association of Slovak Workers (ZRS) is imminent. It is only a question of a few months," said Miroslav Kocnar, a former ZRS MP, about the present situation in the party, one of the partners of the governing coalition.

These strong words could be construed as sour grapes. Kocnar left the party on March 1, 1995, after a fallout with party chief and long-time friend Jan Luptak. But various party officials said the ZRS is crumbling from within.

They say the party, which still holds 12 seats in parliament and cements the ruling coalition's position, is unorganized and has no cooperation between headquarters and regional branches. Meanwhile, they continued, Luptak plays deaf, causing party supporters to leave.

"Only a very few people in the district trust our headquarters and especially Mr. Luptak today," said Dusan Tamas, former secretary of the ZRS club in the eastern Slovak town of Trebisov.

"If Mr. Luptak quit and left the party, people might still vote for it in the next elections. But not otherwise."

And Kocnar said the dissent in Trebisov is only the most visible example of ZRS mutiny simmering beneath the surface in several towns across the country.

"If ZRS continues to work the way it has been, I have serious doubts that we will be able to make it back to parliament," said Timotej Hill, the former head of the ZRS's Bratislava club.

Both Hill and Tamas maintained they were excommunicated from the party because they pushed for it to change. "Anybody who criticized headquarters at the ZRS congress in Banska Bystrica last summer had Luptak running after him," Tamas said. "We (Tamas and Marta Makova, then-head of one of ZRS's bureaus in Trebisov) were among them, so was Mr. Hill. Ever since, Luptak has been looking for a pretext to get rid of us."

Luptak, interviewed in his office at parliament, vehemently disagreed. "What do those people want? What did they bring to our party? I won't accept any attempt to dissassemble it from within. Let them—Makova, Hill and Kocnar—establish their own party and let them show us what can they do."

In Bratislava, an analysis proved to be the local club's undoing. The Bratislava branch came up with an analysis pinpointing the ZRS's problems and how to solve them.

"The analysis was completed in October, but top officials didn't respond to it, although they promised to do so within a week, not to mention that party statutes oblige them to do so within 30 days," Hill said.

Only after excerpts of it appeared in the daily PRACA on December 19 did a decision come down. The next day, the entire Bratislava club was abolished. The official reason was a lack of activity.

In Trebisov, the plot is more piquant. This district in the far eastern reaches of the country now has two ZRS clubs. The larger one, with over 200 members, split from the party and is ignored by Luptak; the smaller one, with 53 adherents, is in with Luptak but ignored by the bigger group.

The larger club's leaders said they became inconvenient for headquarters because of their behavior in the so-called action five.

The "action five" are groups composed of the local heads of each coalition party (HZDS, RSS, SNS, and ZRS) along with the local state administration office chief. Created across the country after the 1994 parliamentary elections to be unofficial in nature, these coalition clans make decisions that turn out to be very official.

Trebisov is a case in point. Documents obtained by THE SLOVAK SPECTATOR show that the action five engineered the dismissal of all local head officials and successfully nominated their successors. The positions included the public prosecutor, hospital director, veterinary surgeon, and the heads of the tax bureau, employment bureau, school administration and newspaper distribution.

Initially, the ZRS member of Trebisov's action five was Frantisek Nad. "Thanks to him, the ZRS had a terrible image here," Makova said. "He was imprisoned eight times before, and everybody knew it. Mr. Nad was one of the first ZRS members in the region. After the parliamentary elections he was authorized by Mr. Luptak to represent ZRS here."

Nad had even changed his name from its Hungarian spelling Nagy to the Slovak Nad because of his criminal record, Makova said. After he was nominated to become the local administrator's deputy, the administrator himself made Nad's record public to prevent his nomination. "There was everything but murder in it," Makova said, supplying a copy of Nad's arrest record to support her accusation.

Luptak is said to have known about Nad's past. When asked why he appointed someone with such a criminal record to represent his party, Luptak said, "Yes, he was in the coalition five, so what? Wait a minute, I don't know what coalition five you're talking about. And after all, you don't have to worry about how many times he was imprisoned. Why should you worry?"

After the truth about Nad surfaced last March, Luptak appointed Makova to be ZRS's local chief and its representative on the action five. But she didn't behave as the coalition expected her to. When the coalition council decided to recall Trebisov's hospital director, Makova refused to confirm his resignation, saying he was qualified for the job. "Before he became director, the hospital suffered from a huge debt. He managed to get rid of it all," Makova explained. "We wanted to make sure that the best people would manage our district, so I didn't support his resignation."

Since each personnel change had to bear all four parties' stamps, Makova thought she would get her way. But she didn't. "After that, the HZDS suspended us from the coalition council's meetings," said Tamas, Makova's colleague. "And while we were suspended, they made all the changes."

"The HZDS people thought we would be eating out of their hands," said Pavol Pitrovsky, a deputy of Makova. "But we became so inconvenient for them that they began to cooperate with Luptak himself to get rid of us."

On October 15, Luptak appointed Jozef Klembara as the third ZRS chief in Trebisov since the 1994 elections. Pitrovsky said it was more an appeasement than an appointment. "When (Josef) Mazar, Luptak's secretary, came to introduce Klembara, they first went to the local HZDS headquarters to ask for permission and only after that did they come to us and tell us that Klembara is our new chief," Pitrovsky said. "That's partly the reason why we haven't recognized him," Makova added. "But the main reason was that most of our members stayed with us and only some joined Klembara."

When Luptak was asked about the situation in Trebisov, he yelled, "First we have to realize who those people are and how they sought to profit from ZRS membership. Mrs. Makova and her family members were the ones to join us only after the election, because they thought they would gain some posts in the state administration." But Tamas struck back: "Everybody from our ZRS district council had to make a pledge not to accept any state administration post."

Regardless of the motives, it is clear that ZRS supporters in Trebisov and in Bratislava are defecting from the party and leaving Luptak. More alarming is that Tamas said about half of ZRS's current 12 MPs in parliament and half of all ZRS clubs around the country are having similar thoughts. Kocnar agreed. "Of course, Trebisov and Bratislava are not alone. There are also the district offices in Topolcany, Galanta, Dunajska Streda and some other districts that I would prefer not to name because I could harm people there. The same with the (current ZRS) MPs. I won't push anybody to join me. It takes a lot of courage to resist Luptak, for fighting Luptak today means fighting the (lead coalition partner) HZDS to a great extent. We have to give them time to decide."

When asked whether there is any time left to speak out against Luptak and his party, Kocnar answered metaphorically. "If you want to rip a weed out of the ground, you first have to see it. It has to grow and show itself, then you can grab it and destroy it. Evil must show itself before it can be abolished."

Slovakia: Economy Minister Discusses Developments, Goals

LD1804145396 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 18 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] An international conference—"Horizons of Prosperity"—opened in Svit [eastern Slovakia] today on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the birth of the Slovak Association of Employers' Unions. The conference was attended by Economy Minister Jan Ducky. Pavol Sveton reports: [passage omitted]

[Sveton] Minister Jan Ducky assessed at the beginning of the conference the past economic results, while stressing that Slovakia had marked in the past period the best macroeconomic results of all the Central and East European countries undergoing transformation. Slovakia, as one of the few of these countries, had maintained an even trade balance. However, it was expected, he said, that in 1996 Slovakia would not reach an active balance in this direction because it was embarking on vast investments.

The Czech Republic was the biggest trade partner of Slovakia, he said. Priorities of export and investments would continue to be of decisive significance. Foreign capital was concentrated in over 8,700 organizations and had the value of almost 22 billion Slovak crowns. Austria, Germany, and the Czech Republic were the biggest foreign investors.

Minister Ducky said that export of labor from Slovakia abroad, above all to the Czech Republic, was a shortcoming. This concerned the part of the Slovak industry that had been and was oriented to weapons.

He said that the focal point of economy was restructuring of power industry, raw materials industry and foreign trade policy.

Replacing coupon privatization by other forms of privatization was considered a lucky governmental step because a strong Slovak business group was being formed that had a chance to enhance the Slovak Republic. The third privatization wave, according to Jan Ducky, should have as small a range as possible. [passage omitted]

Slovakia: Economic Relations With Yugoslavia Resumed

96CH0069B Bratislava SLOVAK SPECTATOR in English 27 Feb 96 p 2

[Article by Hannah Wolfson: "Renewed Ties With Yugoslavia Ushers More Trade"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] After four years of bloodshed, the new Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is open for business, and Slovakia is first in line.

On January 29 and 30, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar visited the republic and held talks with its president, Zoran Lilic, and with Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic. While there, Meciar pointed out that the main aim of his trip was to re-establish economic links that were cut off during the United Nations' embargo on Yugoslavia.

And with good reason. According to Peter Mihok, the chairman of the Slovak Chamber of Commerce, the UN embargo against Yugoslavia cost Slovakia $750 million in trade. The Slovak government's office estimates that this year bilateral trade should reach $400 million, ten times last year's figure.

"It is worth remembering that not only the warring countries faced economic losses," Meciar said in Sofia in December. "We have also been affected by the embargo and so far no one has mentioned compensation for those losses."

Much of that damage was done to Slovakia's ports, which depend heavily on trade on the lower Danube, that section of the river that runs through Yugoslavia and on to the Black Sea. Jiri Slouhy, the director of the Danube Shipping Company's river and maritime transport division, estimated that the four-year Yugoslav conflict caused the amount of goods handled by the Bratislava harbor to drop by about one million tons, from 2.4 million tons to 1.4 million.

Furthermore, activity at the southern Slovak port of Komarno plunged to only five percent of capacity during that time. Now, with the shipping channel open again, the director of the Komarno port believes the harbor will come back to life in as little as six months.

In the meantime, Slovakia may be the first country to get its foot in the door to the Yugoslav market, which has shown a special interest in Slovak products such as fertilizers, pesticides, veterinary medicines, milk, cheese and beer.

Until the new republic becomes a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO), however, there is no guarantee that the country will stick by international customs laws. For its part, Slovakia has pledged to push Yugoslavia forward for membership in the Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA) and discussions along these lines have already begun, officials said. If successful, it would mean the creation of a free trade zone spanning from the Baltic Sea to the Black and Mediterranean Seas.

During his visit, Meciar signed four agreements on cooperation and discussed another 20 documents. Altogether, this would cement the two countries' severed ties in economic, as well as other fields. "From this visit to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia I expect the restoration of mutual relations at all levels," Meciar said.

Slovakia: Four Largest Banks To Be Privatized

96CH0069D Bratislava SLOVAK SPECTATOR in English 27 Feb 96 pp 1, 9

[Article by Richard Lewis: "Biggest Banks To Go to Largest Companies"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The governing coalition led by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar has made it clear that the time is now for privatizing Slovakia's four largest financial institutions.

"The privatization of banks has begun, and the government recommended to complete this by the end of February," stated Meciar at the end of January.

What is also clear is that banking privatization will follow the pattern set by the Meciar administration of selling off state-owned property with an eye toward Slovak enterprises.

"Slovak firms whose shares are held by major Slovak companies will become the new owners of Slovak banks," said Jan Porvaznik, the vice-chairman of the Fund for National Property's (FNM) Executive Board, the body in charge of deciding who the new owners will be.

"It (bank privatization) is meant to be for large companies," echoed Michal Baranik, a member of parliament's finance and budget committee from the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS).

Refusing to divulge details, the FNM has been busily preparing to unload its majority shares in Slovenska Sporitelna (Slovak Savings Bank), where it has 100 percent ownership, Vseobecna Uverova Banka (VUB) with 48 percent, Investicna a Rozvojova Banka (IRB) with 34 percent, and Slovenska poistovna (Slovak Insurance Company) with over 50 percent.

VUB, ranked as the 31st largest company in central Europe according to THE FINANCIAL TIMES, and Slovak Savings Bank are involved heavily in the industrial and trade sectors. IRB deals mainly with public utilities, building and construction.

These three giant banks dominate Slovakia's banking market, accounting for 84 percent of all deposits and 78 percent of total assets in the commercial banking sector. Altogether the four institutions have over 210 billion Sk of assets.

Keeping with the government's stated philosophy, sources said, only Slovakia's largest companies have enough capital to keep these financial institutions in domestic hands. Of those large firms, Slovenske elektrarne, VSZ Kosice, Slovnaft, Duslo Sala, Slovensky Plynarensky Priemysel, Benzinol and Matador Puchov were named in particular by Baranik and other sources.

"The large companies can assure the stability of the banking sector," Baranik explained. "In the first wave (of coupon privatization), shares were distributed to retail investors, which are now being bought by brokerage houses, not Slovak capital and not honest capital. In coupon privatization, this dirty money was washed. In this privatization, honest capital will be assured."

But honest capital does not hide the fact that many of the companies that lord over Slovakia's industrial capital and are the banks' biggest clients, are also their largest debtors. "It is a huge paradox and hardly understandable that the largest Slovak banks should be privatized by their own clients, their own debtors," Jozef Kosnar, an MP for the Party of the Democratic Left (SDL) on parliament's finance and budget committee, said in a February 2 interview for the PRACA daily.

The reason why Kosnar and others are so worried is that these companies will try to purchase shares in those banks where they have the largest debts. "VSZ, for example, will go from being the biggest debtor to becoming the biggest owner," Kosnar said. "Thus, it will be the owner of its own creditor."

The relationship between IRB and Slovenske elektrarne is a prime example. IRB inherited loans in the billions of Sk doled out by the former Statna Banka Ceskoslovenska in 1992 to Slovenske elektrarne mainly to finance construction of the nuclear power plant in Mochovce. The bank's 1994 profile reveals that 67 percent of its involvement was in the building/construction and public utilities sectors.

Thus, a huge chunk of the bank's activities and financial security is tied up with Slovenske elektrarne. And that debt is only growing. Another source in IRB said Slovenske elektrarne's debt to the bank has ballooned to 13 billion Sk.

"Since there is no continuation at Mochovce, IRB is losing real money from the interest on the loan," Baranik said, confirming that the electric company was interested in purchasing the FNM's shares in the bank.

The only balm for this 13 billion Sk blister, sources said, is for Slovenske ekeltrarne to purchase enough of the FNM's shares to gain controlling interest in IRB, thus giving it unlimited access to the resources to finish the nuclear plant.

A source inside IRB hinted strongly at this connection. "There is a danger of connections—not between a bank to an industry, but an industry to a bank," said the source, who requested anonymity. "With a 34-percent share, they have controlling interest. They can influence where the loans go and thus how the whole economy goes."

This is precisely the dangerous scenario that worries Kosnar. "The privatization of banks by the large Slovak industrial lobby would have a negative effect on the Slovak economy and its political development," he said. "A narrow group of some dozens of people is being created."

And this small circle of managers, representing the creme de la creme of industrial resources, would have its hands on four-fifths of Slovakia's banking capital, held by its three largest banks. "This whole process is proof that the circle is getting tighter," Kosnar said. "You have two independently strong capital groups here—the financial capital which are banks and the industrial capital, which are many of the large companies."

Slovakia: Situation of Ethnic Hungarian Churches Discussed

AU1904090996 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 18 Apr 96 p 3

[Commentary by Dusan Slobodnik: "Slovakia, Churches, Assimilation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Within the entire complex of minority issues in Slovakia, the question of religion is of particular importance. In fact, there is probably no other sphere in southern Slovakia in which the Slovak citizens hold as unfavorable an opinion as in this vitally important one. For in 361 communities, out of a total of 971 in southern Slovakia, religious services are not conducted at all in the Slovak language. At the same time, in many of these 361 communities, the percentage of the Slovak ethnic population reaches or exceeds 40 percent.

If this situation is reported to foreign officials, who are interested in the problems of minority relations in our country, I encounter an entire spectrum of opinions. They extend from understanding to a reaction that I have heard repeatedly, particularly recently: after all, this is an issue for the churches to decide.

This is a rational opinion. However, it is not what I intend to discuss; I am convinced that particularly the Catholic and evangelical churches will find a way to increase the number of priests capable of bringing the word of God to the Slovak citizens in their native tongue.

A different problem emerges here. Despite this situation, which is undoubtedly favorable for the ethnic Hungarians, demands for religious Magyarization are growing. Moreover, they are coming from certain Slovak circles, and also from politicians and clergymen from Hungary.

Not so long ago, the following request was made to Slovak clergymen: "We want bishops with Hungarian blood." (Just consider the chauvinism a demand expressed in this manner!) The request came after an explanation that several (Catholic) bishops in Slovakia speak Hungarian, and that holding religious services in the Hungarian tongue is not threatened in southern Slovakia.

I will not even mention the attempt by Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn to prompt the Holy See to establish a Hungarian bishopry in Slovakia. I will only note that on 30 December 1977, the Apostolic See established a Slovak church province that corresponds to the territory of Slovakia.

It is amazing to what methods some clergymen—who should be the most resolute defenders of truth and justice—stoop.

Not so long ago, 7-8 March 1996, a conference took place in Visegrad under the name of Minorities and Church. It was organized by the Friedrich Neumann Foundation and clergymen from Slovakia with Hungarian ethnic backgrounds participated.

The conference was also attended by Hungarian politicians, and one of them, Csaba Tabajdi, state secretary at the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, well known in Slovakia, referred to the Trianon agreement as the "Trianon tragedy." I hope this is not the official policy of the Hungarian Government.

He also spoke about the allegedly complex situation of the church in Slovakia asserting that the church could also help the 15 million Hungarians (the old Antall thesis!) at the international level.

Within the framework of the action, a roundtable discussion took place on the status of Hungarian churches in Slovakia.

What was said in this discussion confirmed the bias of some clergymen from Slovakia of ethnic Hungarian background. As if the position of Catholics of Hungarian ethnic origin in Slovakia was not satisfactory (the domination of Hungarian services was mentioned earlier), the naive thesis was reiterated about the alleged assimilation policy of the Slovak Government, which Miklos Duray [chairman of the Coexistence movement] utilizes in his irredentist strategy.

Catholic Bishop Miko from Slovakia also could not hide his true colors. According to him, the situation of the Hungarians in Slovakia is tragic. The bishops also delved a bit in history. The coexistence of minorities was allegedly harmonious in the old Hungary (it is an offensive "Pan-Hungarian" thesis). According to him, the Kosice government policy is still in force, and the ethnic Hungarian citizens in Slovakia are officially considered enemies(!!!). It is remarkable, to say the least, that the aforementioned foundation supports such activities, the objective of which is a tendentious incitement of ethnic intolerance, moreover, expressed by clergymen.

Slovakia: Ruthenians Intend To Campaign Abroad

AU1804085996 Bratislava SME in Slovak 17 Apr 96 p 11

[Report by "ru": "Ruthenians Are Determined To Draw Attention to Themselves Also Abroad"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Some 17,000 Ruthenians live in the Slovak Republic but, despite great endeavors on their part, so far they have not managed to achieve the introduction of the alternative instruction of the Ruthenian language. They overcome further obstacles when trying to gain access to public service media and other areas. They regard as one of the ways out of this situation a public campaign pinpointing the discrepancy between the protection of ethnic minorities proclaimed by the present government and the actual state of affairs. The members of some regional clubs of the Ruthenian Revival have therefore initiated the proclamation "Charter Ruthenum 2000," whose initial statement will be published in the next issue of the Ruthenian biweekly NARODNY NOVINKY. "For more than 1,000 years our forefathers have been handing down our language and cultural and religious traditions to their offspring. Will there be anyone after the year 2000 to whom to hand down these unique values?" is written in the Charter Ruthenum 2000. "We hoped to find understanding among the state and constitutional officials of the Slovak Republic, but in vain...." As Michal Kost, the Charter Ruthenum spokesman, told SME, they want to appeal also to representatives of other states. According to his words, the Charter will bring together signatories, members, and sympathizers and would like to serve as an umbrella also for other people in the northeast of the Slovak Republic who feel ethnic oppression or injustice in the social, cultural, or ecological spheres. The aim of Charter Ruthenum is to set up in the future the Ruthenian Civic Party of Activists [Rusinska Obcianska Strana Aktivnych] (ROSA).

Hungary: Interior Minister on Fighting Economic Crime

AU1804153296 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Apr 96 pp 1, 9

[Article by Attila Gy. Fekete: "Kuncze: Action Against the Black Economy Is Not a Campaign Task"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The 1 billion forints intended for setting up the central investigating office could be used much more efficiently if the amount were used for strengthening the already existing authorities, Interior Minister Gabor Kuncze, coalition deputy of the prime minister, told NEPSZABADSAG in his interview. He said he agrees that firm measures are needed against the black economy but in his view the situation cannot be improved solely by police means.

According to Kuncze, the plan to set up a central investigating organization has generated debates because it affects an important—although perhaps not the biggest—area of fight against the black economy, namely the policing tasks. However, in my view, it is impossible to solve this issue solely by police and excise office methods, he said. It is not expedient to perform this job in a campaign-like manner.

Asked why he does not support the plan to set up a central investigating organization to uncover special economic crimes, Kuncze said that he does not believe the problem could be remedied by setting up another authority. Today, most of the problems are caused by the fact that the organizations dealing with suppressing the black economy are not efficient enough due to the bad flow of information, inadequate coordination, and their separate interests. More precisely, they are interested in clearing up complicated criminal cases on their own because they do not then need to share the honor and the rewards either.

I wonder if it is worth setting up a unit whose future operation already raises serious constitutional and legality concerns, Kuncze continued. The use of secret service methods is regulated by laws that have to be passed by two-thirds majority. It is inconceivable for the central investigating organization to be given the chance to use secret methods with a lower level authorization than this.

Kuncze recalled that, since the formation of the government, he has made several steps to suppress the black economy. He denied the claims which accused the cabinet with slow reaction and delayed actions. Barely six months after we took office, we implemented radical and effective measures against those who benefited from the [heating] oil issue, he said. On the basis of suggestions by the police, the customs and excise office, the tax office, and many other central control organizations with national competence, the government has initiated or will later initiate the amendment of more than 40 regulations. It would be possible to further improve the economic environment of enterprises through legislation: Among others, it should be considered if, for example, citizens could write off 20 percent of their certain expenditure proved by receipts from their tax basis. This possibility would encourage people to buy from legal sources.

According to Kuncze, actions by the police, the customs authority, and the tax authority can only be the final means in the series of measures against the black economy. The most important step would be to create an economic environment in which it is not worth for the entrepreneurs to take the risk of participating in the black economy. Work has already been started in the Finance Ministry on a more favorable tax system than the current one. What happened last year cannot again be repeated: The government promised to reduce the income tax but the highest tax level increased from 44 to 48 percent. To our question what guarantees that the tax burden will be reduced, Kuncze said that the burden cannot be increased anymore.

The cooperation of offices and authorities with controlling rights with the police and the customs authority is essential for effective action against the black economy. Kuncze noted that, according to a recent survey, the 30 various authorities with controlling rights only reported to the police or provided information to the police in barely 2,500 cases.

Before we set up another investigating authority, it should be assessed why the organizations meant to carry out control are not working more efficiently. Is it because they do not have the adequate authorization? Or is it because they do not have the necessary means?

I believe, Kuncze said, that if we have 1 billion forints for a central investigating authority then this amount could be much more efficiently used if we spent it on developing the police and the other already existing and functioning authorities.

Whom does it harm if the police gets a competitor and if in addition to the now existing six national main authorities, a seventh can also investigate economic crime cases, we asked Kuncze. He said that those who commit the so-called major cases can each cause as much as some tens of billions of forints damage to the national economy while those committing the minor crimes together can remove 100 billion forints from the state treasury. If we set up the central investigating authority, it would probably take experts away from the police and the other existing authorities. This way, a situation would arise in which the prepared and well paid central investigating office would only deal with a few dozen spectacular "major cases attracting much interest by the public. And the police, the customs, and tax authorities, deprived of their experts precisely by the new authority, would be left to deal with the small cases which together amount to hundreds of billions of forints.

In Kuncze's view, instead of the central investigation organization, it would be more expedient to set up a value-analysis organization whose members would be policemen, tax, and customs experts, possibly attorneys, who would not be able to investigate but would only coordinate the data and information necessary to uncover the various suspicious cases. After jointly defining the tasks, the various services would be able to do all that is necessary to clear up the given case.

Recently Free Democrat deputy Ferenc Koszeg wrote in an article: Policemen requesting not to be named say in private conversations that criminal proceedings could at any time also be launched against government side politicians. In his article, Koszeg tried to find out if members of the central investigating organization will be able to or will take action against politicians on the government's side. In connection with this Kuncze said that the government has not prohibited the police to investigate the cases of government side politicians or entrepreneurs close to the government parties. I am certain that the prime minister also maximally agrees with me that the police cannot under any circumstances consider in which party or interest sphere a suspected person is a member.

Hungary: Minister Vetoes Decision on Oil Company Sale

LD1904090896 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0500 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The privatization minister has vetoed the decision on the sale of the Szolnok Crude Oil Research Joint-Stock Company. Tamas Suchman reached this decision after he had visited the firm in Szolnok and had talks with Mayor Attila Varhegyi, who had been fighting against the decision of the State Privatization and Assets Management Joint-Stock Company [APV Rt].

Earlier the APV Rt awarded the Szolnok Crude Oil Research Company to a Russian firm which was not even formed when the tender was called.

Both the employees and the town's leadership have protested against the decision because they have been concerned about the future of the firm and its employees. The minister has now decided that the privatization deal will be discussed together with the sale of the Nagykanizsa Rotary Ltd., another crude oil research firm owned by the Hungarian Oil Industry Joint-Stock Company.

Hungary: Parliament Figure on Conscript Service Reduction

LD1804123296 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 18 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the parliament's Defense Committee chairman, contrary to a recent forecast by the Defense Ministry, the reduction of conscript service from 12 to nine months cannot be expected for the time being.

According to Imre Mecs, not only does the country's defense capability need to be considered regarding this decision, but also the fact that such a move requires a lot of money. A decision like this implies that more professional soldiers will have to be employed. Mecs also referred to the fact that 40 percent of the discharged conscripts had no jobs. Therefore, the amount to be spent on unemployment benefits will also have to be raised if service time is shortened.

Hungary: FIDESZ Position Among Opposition Analyzed

96CH0071B Budapest 168 ORA in Hungarian 20 Feb 96 pp 14-17

[Article by Monika Torok: "Orange for Sale! What Is FIDESZ-MPP Afraid of, and Where Is It Going?"—the term "orange" refers to the FIDESZ publication MAGYAR NARANCS]

[FBIS Translated Text] *As of early this year the surging waves of domestic politics appear to be abating. No mention was made this week of a disintegrating ruling coalition, and the platitude "Gyula Horn should resign!" was not uttered more often then necessary from the other side of parliament. On this occasion Monika Torok tried to find out where FIDESZ-MPP [Federation of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party] stood in the opposition rows.*

In 1988 we predicted the brightest possible future for FIDESZ. Amid the excitement and enthusiasm of the system change, hearing clear voices and irreverent off-the-cuff remarks sounded good to both young and old. But the flavor of politics became stale as our multiparty democracy became solidified. We are no longer filled with emotion when we discuss FIDESZ; instead we view the organization as an adult, tactician party with a pronounced profile.

FIDESZ was formed in March 1988 to create a new, separate and independent federation to unite politically active, radical, reform-oriented youth groups and young individuals. FIDESZ members felt that there was a gaping abyss between the actual political fragmentation of youth and the way this fragmentation is projected by youth organizations, and that establishing FIDESZ would be the first step to bridge this abyss.

As all parties, FIDESZ, too, established its place on the political palette. As contemporary writings indicate: FIDESZ is liberal because it would like to see civil courage sustained in the long term, and a broadening of the group of individuals who change from dependent subordinates into citizens. The liberalism of FIDESZ must not mean tolerance of all existing or emerging political trends; both extreme right-wing and extreme left-wing ideologies must be rejected because these discriminate against specific social groups based on racial, religious, nationalist or revolutionary Messianism.

Voters in 1990 recognized the new voice not only emotionally, but by giving tangible evidence, and the definitive event of the initial days of the democratic parliament was the entrance of FIDESZ representatives dressed in shorts and polo shirts.

Professionals

But there is no room for emotions during weekdays filled with work; the colors of neckties worn by individuals make no difference when introducing legislative proposals. During the term of the previous government FIDESZ, having gradually learned the rules, transformed itself from uncombed insolence into a political factor. And FIDESZ also had to find its place.

Quite naturally, as a liberal party FIDESZ was not alone on the stage. Its relations with the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] were viewed as a father complex by the press; doubtless, there were some grounds for that. Although this is vehemently denied on Merleg Street, at FIDESZ they vividly recall the days when their role would only have been that of a Free Democrat satellite, more or less like the relationship between the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] and KISZ [Communist Youth Organization].

"Communicating" to voters viewing politics from the outside the fact that their sentiments could not force the party to define itself created great concerns at FIDESZ. As Viktor Orban told the fourth FIDESZ congress in 1992: "We always resisted fighting based on the idea that the pure stand on the one side, and the evil on the other, or that the patriots stand on the one side, and the traitors on the other. We will continue to resist the lure of ultimately viewing our opponents as enemies to be eliminated rather than as partners. But it will be especially difficult to maintain this principle in the immediate future. Mr. Konya, the conductor of hatred has given the signal, and we must be very careful not to permit ourselves to be provoked."

Change in Direction

After all this the public had difficulty swallowing the outcome of the 1993 congress held in Debrecen, where Viktor Orban, presumably also to pronouncedly distinguish his party from the SZDSZ, defined FIDESZ as a liberal party with a national commitment. Many believed that this meant a betrayal of their own conduct at and about the time of the system change. Even though this "change in direction" had occurred for a substantially simpler reason. At that time they were already confronted with the fact that the next time around voter sentiments would not suffice for FIDESZ to be seated in parliament.

Amid occasionally shrill opposition endeavors against the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], serious negotiations took place between the two parties as early as in 1992 concerning the political conditions of a possible coalition. According to data produced by contemporary public opinion research there was rational foundation for such negotiations: It did not at all appear as inconceivable for the joint mandates of the two parties to become a definitive political force in parliament.

Simultaneously, FIDESZ began distancing itself from the centrist-liberal position. FIDESZ leaders explained this situation by saying that their "natural ally" the Alliance of Free Democrats had definitely shifted to the left, in the direction of the Democratic Charta as a first step. They were also forced to surrender an earlier concept, according to which FIDESZ, as a small party, would become a great political force by standing alone in the middle.

The 1994 elections did not fulfill their expectations. The liberal alliance went bankrupt, although in those days even Jozsef Antall gave his blessings to FIDESZ for joining the game at all.

After the election fiasco it became apparent that FIDESZ would be forced to act. Not many alternatives existed on the chess board. Cooperating with the socialists was inconceivable for FIDESZ, and the same applied to the Free Democrats because they joined the coalition. The party's relationship with the SZDSZ is further aggravated by the fact that while FIDESZ is a member of the Liberal Internacionale, its potential partners in Hungary often use the term "liberal" as a cuss word. To bridge the awkward situation, FIDESZ leadership first began to define itself as "national liberal," and later as "national liberal" ["szabadelvu," a synonym of "liberalis" or "liberal"], while people increasingly referred to the SZDSZ as an Oszkar Jaszi-type social-liberal party. And they did so not by accident. In the competition between the "natural allies" at stake is no less than a voter base of almost 1 million, which appears as rather stable in light of the past elections.

The Surviving Survivors

The crisis in which FIDESZ found itself became apparent after the elections. And so did the fact that they stopped the plummeting of their support and later, that they reversed that trend. Despite all this, however, it became apparent that a new opening became by all means necessary if they wanted to survive, and more importantly, to progress politically.

The establishment of an alliance designated by the word "civic" appeared to be good strategy and also an elegant move to resolve FIDESZ's identity crisis. Namely, the existence of a middle class alliance could become the single stroke to negate the charge that FIDESZ had made an about turn in its policies. This is so, because it certainly could not be said of FIDESZ's past public performance that the organization did not act as a real middle class party.

But yet another rather significant advantage seemed to flow from this alliance. Notably: An MDF and KDNP [Christian Democratic People's Party] alliance with FIDESZ would have amounted to a declaration that it was possible to reconcile the value systems and political views of the three organizations, moreover that such reconciliation could be accomplished by using the term "civic" as a common denominator. Doing so could also have manifested the fact that the three organizations were, indeed, middle class organizations, as compared to other organizations outside the alliance.

The KDNP recognized early on that being blended together was both the essence of, and the difficulty with the alliance. Joining the alliance would be tantamount to losing their profile as well as their voter base. By no coincidence, the KDNP nowadays appears to be removing itself from this idea.

To be a firm middle-of-the-road party with pronounced features, relying on a stable voter base, and representing European Christian democratic principles continues to be the KDNP's political objective. A historical conflict exists between Catholic-Christian values, and values designated as middle class civic values; the fact that the beginning of secular societies coincided with the beginning of middle class development is no coincidence.

The status of the MDF, the other member of the contemplated alliance, cannot be defined for now. The question of which trend, or more accurately, which person's definition of a trend will prevail at the spring congress is still awaiting an answer. Meanwhile FIDESZ has adopted a wait-and-see attitude, and the MDF is doing the same with respect to the middle class alliance. From a political and moral standpoint it would make a difference to FIDESZ if the MDF joins the alliance as perceived by Sandor Lezsak: together with Pozsgay as well as Csurka. This concern arises because on 9 February 1996 Sandor Lezsak declared the following: "I am convinced that we will find opportunities to cooperate with Zoltan Biro and Imre Pozsgay, and on the other side, with Istvan Csurka's party. We belong to different parties because we do not have identical views on everything. But we need not beat up on each other for such differences." It seems that at this time FIDESZ needs the MDF, and irrespective of the final outcome of the MDF struggle, Viktor Orban awaits the start of a new rapprochement.

From among the opposition parties the Smallholders Party [FKgP] cannot be discounted. This organization is viewed with rather great reservations by FIDESZ. It seems for now that only the person of the people's tribune, his rhetoric and political style are unacceptable to the Young Democrats, while local cooperative efforts, such as cooperation with local governments, are indeed functioning. Nevertheless it is difficult to imagine a political formation in which Jozsef Torgyan recognizes any political force as capable of bargaining.

Alone

FIDESZ does not find itself in an easy situation for now, although the next elections are still far away. They have firmly shut every door leading to the ruling parties, while the opposition is in no way capable of coalescing. In contrast, however, Viktor Orban believes that the voters, and not the parties will be FIDESZ's real allies in establishing a middle class Hungary.

FIDESZ once again wants to appear as part of a generation which links the past to the 21st century. The political tenor has returned, but it remains to be seen whether FIDESZ is going to succeed in providing such a link. Around 1993 the press cheered the season of the orange, at that time all tropical fruit was sold out completely. This happened because the public bought what FIDESZ sold. In 1996, however, it seems that the goal is no longer to find one-time buyers, but to conquer retailers.

[Box, p 15]

"Running Out Of Time"—A Conversation with FIDESZ-MPP Vice Chairman Zoltan Pokorni

[168 ORA] Many, including 168 ORA, blame FIDESZ for changing its views regarding essential political issues. You have been vice chairman of the party since 1994. How do you deal with this charge?

[Pokorni] I seldom hear this accusation by now, although most recently Gyula Horn used this rhetorical crutch when he was unable to respond to Jozsef Szajer's arguments at the beginning of the spring session. But a year or two ago, responding to charges leveled by journalists, several friends of mine sympathetic to FIDESZ also brought up this issue, some of them passionately. All I could say to them was that the MSZP [Hungarian Socialist Party] acceded to power not because we changed our position regarding certain issues. We could say that we had to change our position in response to a changed situation, if we wanted to maintain our principles.

[168 ORA] In other words, the change could be felt in the FIDESZ neighborhood.

[Pokorni] More definitive was the fact that the political sphere of force had shifted. A large segment of citizens turned toward the previously "quarantined" MSZP, i.e., toward the left. This process was topped by the fact that the SZDSZ backed out of the four-party election alliance which served as the framework for FIDESZ's cooperation with the SZDSZ, and that SZDSZ began negotiating with the MSZP, and became increasingly closed to FIDESZ. Those who tried to remain true to their own beliefs turned toward the right, so to speak. There is no problem with that. A concern arises when all this is stated in the form of an accusation.

[168 ORA] Even though FIDESZ-MPP is not large, it is a serious and viable party. And yet, virtually every statement made by its leaders defines the FIDESZ-MPP role as compared to the SZDSZ.

[Pokorni] I see this happening on fewer and fewer occasions, but there must be some truth to it if you say so. FIDESZ has a common past with most parties seated in parliament; we all sat together around the Opposition Roundtable facing the MSZMP. The months of preparation preceding the first free elections were definitive; one cannot overestimate the significance of these. The picture changed after 1990, and so did the relationship between the parties seated at the Roundtable. We continued to have a common "past" with the SZDSZ, because we were together in the opposition during the initial term of the new government. Although the socialists, too, were there, there was a sharp demarcation line between them and the liberal parties from the standpoint of their political culture and past. Compared to this situation, seeing the SZDSZ on the MSZP's side in the coalition represents a cruel disappointment.

[168 ORA] Considering that your party is a small party, the Young Democrats cannot exist without allies. What relationship does FIDESZ have with the Smallholders Party, for example?

[Pokorni] FIDESZ is not allied with, and in my view, cannot be allied with the FKgP. Our present relations are difficult, frequently burdened with personal and cultural differences. In this regard the person of the chairman, who represents a unique, pronounced political culture plays a significant role. In many instances, those able to maintain excellent cooperative relations with local Smallholder politicians disagree with the views and methods used by Jozsef Torgyan. The biggest problem in parliament with the Smallholders is that they visibly struggle on two fronts. They assign the same importance, if not greater importance to the arena in which two segments of the opposition fight each other, as to the struggle between the opposition as a whole and the government. When parliament is in session I suffer most when Torgyan's demagoguery simply relieves SZDSZ and MSZP politicians from having to provide professional responses.

[168 ORA] The planned civic alliance appears to be reluctant to work with the other two opposition parties.

[Pokorni] The civic alliance presents one of the great opportunities in Hungarian internal politics. From a practical standpoint it has already existed during the 1994 local elections, it functioned when Ferenc Madl was nominated for the office of the president of the Republic. And the alliance can also be established for the 1998 elections. The sooner it is established the better, it can be of great help to the present opposition parties. However popular, an organization presenting a right-wing, radical profile will not be able to take the place of the already compromised ruling parties. Only a moderate force can undertake this task. If one or another politician of the KDNP or the MDF postpones the establishment of a civic alliance, the postponement is not because they do not recognize the necessity of having such an alliance. They postpone implementing this idea only to secure better positions in the tactical struggle between forces within the future alliance. This, however, could become dangerous, because time is running out.

B-H: Goldstone Calls For Dropping Charges Against Djukic

AU1904153496 Paris AFP in English 1523 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague, April 19 (AFP)—Senior prosecutor Richard Goldstone of the UN war crimes court for the former Yugoslavia has recommended dropping charges against Bosnian Serb general Djordje Djukic because he is seriously ill, the court said Friday.

Djukic is the former logistics chief of the Bosnian Serb army.

B-H: IFOR Denies Knowledge of 'Russian Mercenaries'

AU1804191996 Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE (European edition) in Serbo-Croatian 17 Apr 96 p 5

[Report by "M.F.": "There Are No Russians in Pale"]

[FBIS Translated Text] IFOR [Implementation Force] troops have made an effort to find the very last foreign citizen, or mujahidin, who fought in the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to be able tell the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina that it is not fulfilling the obligations undertaken with the peace agreement.

In the Army of the RS [Serb Republic] the bulk of the senior officers are on the payroll of the Army of Yugoslavia, and can therefore be treated as foreign citizens.

In reply to a journalist's question at a regular news conference as to whether IFOR was aware of the existence of Russian mercenaries in Pale, Simon Haselock, spokesman for The Hague [as published], said: "We do not have any information that there are Russian mercenaries in Pale. But if they are indeed present there, they should leave," Haselock said.

B-H: OSCE Official on Opposition in Serb Republic

AU1904120696 Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE (European edition) in Serbo-Croatian 13-14 Apr 96 p 17

[Interview with Kasim Begic, a member of the Temporary Election Committee at the OSCE, by M. Fazlic; place and date not given: "The Mixture of Authority and Opposition"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kasim Begic, member of the Temporary Election Committee at the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe], met in Banja Luka with representatives of political parties that operate in the Serb entity, as well as with local media representatives.

[Fazlic] Tell us something about the actual significance of the meeting with representatives of political parties that operate in the Serb Republic?

[Begic] Apart from the members of the Temporary Election Committee, the meeting was attended by representatives of six parties from the area of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The significance of the meeting lies in the fact that after many years, contact has been made between the political parties operating in the two entities.

[Fazlic] What did this meeting mean for the political parties in the Serb Republic?

[Begic] Those parties, which previously did not have an opportunity to publicly promote themselves, now had the unique opportunity to let the public find out about them. Namely, the atmosphere of political pluralism in the Serb Republic has been reduced, it is especially lacking in the media that are under strong regime control. The promotion of newly established parties is therefore significant considering the rivalry between Pale and Banja Luka.

[Fazlic] What impression did you get about political life in the Serb Republic?

[Begic] I got the impression that there is no clear difference between the authorities and the opposition. Most of these parties do not see the Serb Republic as an entity within the framework of a united Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Only two or three parties mentioned the name Bosnia-Herzegovina in a positive context. This means that the opposition to the existing regime of Radovan Karadzic is the same as the authorities.

[Fazlic] How is the implementation of the peace agreement being implemented in the Serb Republic?

[Begic] As it seems, politics in the Serb Republic does not differ from the period before the signing of the peace agreement. Namely, only a small number of parties make up a real opposition to the existing regime, which only formally accepts the peace agreement, but does nothing about implementing it.

[Fazlic] What would be your message regarding this meeting?

[Begic] In my view what the international decision-makers are doing here is relativizing [relativiziranje] the peace agreement, the so-called adaptation to the actual situation in the area. An attempt is being made to change the agreement during the process of implementation. This is a great danger, but my feeling is that all the political parties, except two or three, support this concept.

B-H: Liberals Criticize OSCE on Election Rules

AU1804203596 Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE (European edition) in Serbo-Croatian 18 Apr 96 p 7

[Article by R. Li.: "Elections Without Purpose"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The news that leaked from sources close to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE] that, by the decision of Robert Frowick, the voters will be allowed to vote in the place of their current abode in the next [Bosnia-Herzegovina] elections, and not, as Dayton specifies, in accordance with the 1991 census, prompted Liberal Party Secretary General Hasib Salkic to speak up at the regular news conference of the Liberal Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to Salkic, such a decision would change the spirit of the Dayton Accord completely and that whatever the war did not manage to accomplish entirely would be achieved elegantly through the OSCE—the country would be divided into three parts and genocide and expulsions would be legalized.

This decision, they say in the Liberal Party, is preventing the refugees from returning to their territories, houses, and apartments. Force and arms, Salkic says, are being embraced as the method of the resolution of political demands. The Liberals wonder whether, in such a constellation of powers, the planned elections are needed at all as OSCE is working contrary to the objectives of the Dayton Accord. In this way, the elections lose all purpose. They will neither be free nor are there any guarantees that various manipulations will not take place. The Serbs expelled from Croatia will be allowed to vote in Bosnia-Herzegovina, perfectly legally, and will also become its citizens. Or, tens of thousands of those who came from the vicinity of Sarajevo will be able to vote in Brcko.

B-H: Serb Commander Says Part of Dayton Accord Realized

LD1904131596 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0918 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 19 Apr (SRNA)—Lieutenant-Colonel-General Momir Talic, commander of the First Corps of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic army, said after a meeting of representatives of the three armies of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina held in Kupres, that "the military part of the Dayton Agreement has been fully realized."

The meeting with Sakib Mahmuljin and Atif Dudakovic, commanders of the Third and Fifth Corps of the Muslim army, and Drago Dragicevic and Zeljko Glasnovic, commanders of the Croat Defense Council [HVO] for the corps districts of Tomislavgrad and Vitez, analyzed the activities so far in the application of the Dayton Agreement.

According to Talic, it was concluded at last night's meeting that "the army has observed all the provisions of the agreement and has not caused any difficulties in implementing them."

"We now need to turn to peacetime activities and we need to know all the details of military movements and exercises so that the Dayton Agreement is carried out to the letter," Talic said. He added that it was concluded at the meeting that "the process of confidence building in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina will take some time."

The Kupres meeting of representatives of the Serb Republic army, the HVO, and the Muslim army was held with the mediation of British General Michael Jackson, Ifor [Implementation Force] commander for Sector Southwest.

B-H: Authorities Not To Abolish Curfew 20 Apr

AU1804142096 Hanau NOVA BOSNA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Apr 96 p 20

[Unattributed report: "Curfew Not To Be Abolished 20 April"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 17 Apr—The curfew, which should—according to some indications—be abolished on 20 April, will remain in force, we have learnt at the Information Service of the Interior Ministry of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. As they said at this service, according to the Bosnia-Herzegovina peace plan, the imminent war danger ends on 19 April, which does not mean that the curfew will be abolished then, too. Such a decision is to be made by the Federation Government with the approval of the interior minister.

B-H: Interior Minister, EU Official View Mostar Police

AU1804151296 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Apr 96

[Report by Dubravka Travnik on meeting of Peter Lambreht, commissioner of the European administration international police force in Mostar, and Avdo Hebib, minister of internal affairs of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the office of the Republican Ministry of Internal Affairs in Mostar on 18 April—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the start, they voiced mutual satisfaction with the results achieved by the European Union in Mostar. Peter Lambreht, commissioner of the international police force for Mostar presented Mr. Hebib with a letter in which he informed him of the uniforms donated to the federal police by the European administration.

It was said in the continuation of the talks that the Western European Union is assisting in the unification of the police. Joint patrols are working well, which means that people can work together. After joint talks with the cantonal and local police, we are preparing a sort of a [word indistinct]. The patrols in the town should do their job so that the people will feel safer. The police from the western and eastern parts of the town both supported this, Mr. Lambreht said. Joint command [words indistinct] in a joint, modernly furnished building furnished.

Avdo Panjeta, deputy commissioner and commander of the federal contingent, afterward emphasized that the contingent under his control is performing its duties successfully.

At the end of the meeting, Minister Hebib presented Mr. Lambreht with a [word indistinct] police badge in memory of successful cooperation.

B-H: Ganic Discusses Croat-Bosniak 'Marriage'

AU1804153796 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 17 Apr 96 p 7

[Interview with Ejup Ganic, vice president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and Presidency member, by Jozo Pavkovic and Ivana Lovric; place and date not given: "The Drina as a Mental Border"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The session of the Constituent Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina, adjourned last week, is scheduled to reconvene today. We asked Mr. Ejup Ganic, vice president of the Federation and B-H Presidency member—who, together with [Federation President] Mr. Zubak, was accused at the last session of being the most to blame for all of the Federation's failures—to tell us about the Constituent Assembly's work.

[Ganic] The deputies were outwitting one another—each from his own corner. Ask them what they have accomplished in the places they come from. Also ask the Croats and Bosniaks. I cannot be responsible for solving problems in every local community. This is no longer the communist system during which everything was reported to the party president, while the central committee plenary sessions were simply a formality. They now have to say when they take the floor to what extent the Federation has been implemented in the place they come from. That is why I proposed a permanent session. With cameras present. Let the people watch them spin their empty yarns. I am here to work for the Croatian and Bosniak people. And that is what I am doing.

A 'Marriage' of Interest

[VECERNJI LIST] Which issues are currently burdening the Federation the most?

[Ganic] The Croats and Muslims agree that the Federation is a final solution. However, the second part says: in an integral Bosnia-Herzegovina. We would like the Croats to care a bit more about such a state. We cannot now say that we do not care about the other entity, the Serb Republic. The Serbs got 49 percent, and Bosnia stayed a single country. Immense private property belonging to Bosniaks and Croats is thus in that part [the Serb entity]. It cannot be simply forgotten, and we must protect it. Moreover, a lot of people have been expelled from that part of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[VECERNJI LIST] The impression is that Croats and Muslims are having difficulties in organizing internal relations. Is this "marriage" truly based on honest foundations?

[Ganic] The Muslims have no other marriage partner. Therefore, they entered into it because it was a necessary and logical interest. Some believe that the Croats would have more options if they were to leave Bosnia. However, who is to say? This, too, is a Croat state. Look at the Croat people's history! That is why I am surprised that many Croats are rejecting their history in the area. Yet the history of the Croat people in the region is a very important part of Balkan history. Our last coat of arms, the one I would like accepted, is that of a Croatian ruler. That is why I do not understand why the proposed coat of arms and flag were not accepted. They comprise all the more important symbols of both peoples. The good thing is that the designers focused on a part of the Croatian coat of arms and the fleur de lis, rather than the cross and half-moon.

Time—The Best Medicine

[VECERNJI LIST] Aren't former conflicts still too fresh for tolerance and constructive agreements?

[Ganic] I believe that, if I were to put together all Croats and Bosniaks, the chemistry would not be bad. We just need to find the right formula. There is no real hatred among the two peoples. For example, I see Dalmatians, or people from Istria, Zagreb, or Posavina, as my neighbors. Even at the time of the conflicts, I was always received with extreme courtesy in, let's say, Zagreb hotels. Knowing that we are not enemies sustains me. All will be well—time is the best medicine. I am not so crazy as to be flogging a dead horse.

[VECERNJI LIST] Why, then, if time is the best medicine, do you often sign deadlines that are too short and unrealistic?

[Ganic] I have taken on this job because I am influential among the people. It is my tactic to constantly impose these agreements on them. To have the work constantly in progress. It is far preferable to negotiate a thousand days than wage war for a single day.

[VECERNJI LIST] So you believe there will be more tolerance? For example, will the Croat municipality of Stup be formed here in Sarajevo as a sign of goodwill?

[Ganic] I've said to the Croats—people, you are forcing this more than is good for you. As you seem to be bent on this, mark out the lot you think belongs to you, and have your party. What surprises me is that the Croats are not competing in domains where they can win the game, namely, in education, health care....

'I'll Spend the First Night With Them'

[VECERNJI LIST] The return of refugees is a crucial point in establishing trust among the peoples. What has been accomplished so far?

[Ganic] The Croats are stalling things. I have settled things in Bugojno, but no Croats are returning.

[VECERNJI LIST] Is it because they are afraid?

[Ganic] I will come and spend the first night with them. We will bring the international police and the Implementation Force with us. But there are no Croats. I said to Zubak: You take one step, and I'll take two.

[VECERNJI LIST] You are also a member of the B-H Presidency. How is the transference of authority from the Republic to the Federation going?

[Ganic] The Republic has been registered as a state. It should transfer all significant authority to the two entities. But all authority that makes a state a state must remain at the top. This top will not influence life at the base, as everything will take place in cantons. Herzeg-Bosnia is, after all, an entity created by only one people. It has no state legitimacy, while the Republic was established by both Bosniaks and Croats. The Bosniaks really have no alternative, and it is a pity that the Croats are thinking of alternatives, as this is their country, too. It is no feat to take a "piece" but lose all of Bosnia.

Nervousness and a Tight Spot

[VECERNJI LIST] You often mention cooperation with the Republic of Croatia. What is it like today, and how will relations be organized in the future?

[Ganic] Nervousness is the state of things in both states. Croatia still needs to liberate a part of the country, and we are in a tight spot. Essentially, there is no difference between us. Both states would like to become a constituent part of Europe, a part of the common market.... You can see that Russia is backing Serbia, that it is trying to expand it as far west as possible.

[VECERNJI LIST] Would an agreement on the port of Ploce contribute to better relations between the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Ganic] Of course! Why are we being pushed to the port of Bar? These people are stopping us from getting Ploce, and are pushing the Bosnian Government to consider the option of Bar. This is not a good policy. We have the possibility of importing. If, for example, Boeing cargo aircraft are going to be used for this, it will be more expensive for us, but also for the Croats. That is why you can increasingly hear voices saying—let's go to Bar.

[VECERNJI LIST] A group was recently arrested in Croatia that was planning to assassinate Fikret Abdic. Did this mark the beginning of the preelectoral campaign in Bosnia?

[Ganic] There is no need for us to eliminate people. Time eliminates everyone who is of no value. I am striving for the application of international norms. All those who have sinned should go to The Hague. I do not advocate methods that circumvent these rules.

Elections—A Step Forward

[VECERNJI LIST] Elections are to be held in Bosnia-Herzegovina in September. Are they in the interest of the currently ruling parties?

[Ganic] They will be held in the Federation. The problem is the Serbs. If Karadzic and Mladic are not removed, there will be a counting of Serbs rather than elections.

[VECERNJI LIST] Will the new politicians who win the elections have an easier task of establishing trust among the peoples?

[Ganic] Politics is a risky process. Today you have a mass of people conducting policy in an amateurish way. Irrespective of what stupidity they come up with, you journalists exaggerate it. Politics is an undefined area in which you can manipulate people. Very rarely will you meet a person who was prominent in a profession and is now in politics. But it might happen in September. Therefore, elections will certainly constitute a step forward. Politicians must not make the same mistakes as before, when Tito ruled, for example. What sort of policy is it that is conducted in an amateurish manner?

[Box, p 7]

Roots

[VECERNJI LIST] Why are the Croats actually rejecting Bosnia-Herzegovina rather than accepting as their own, like the Muslims?

[Ganic] I believe that the crisis is in the Bosnia-Herzegovina leadership. Who says that 17 percent of the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot own 50 percent of the capital? Who is stopping a Croat from owning a hotel chain, airline companies.... If we are to strive for a system based on a market economy, it does not mean the the Croats in Bosnia can only have 17 percent of the cake. Croats who are for Bosnia will get Muslim votes in elections. Bosnia is an unexplored political area for the Croats. The Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina do not possess just a third of the investments in Bosnia; they live in a state that is integral and theirs. The Croats have roots here, and they are not solely in Herzegovina. It is a tragedy that the Croats are leaving. They should protect this country of theirs. Why are the Croatian people shrinking? We all consider the Drina River a mental border. Who dares say that this is no longer so?

[Box, p 7]

Croatian Interest

[VECERNJI LIST] The recent assembly session again showed that the Croats and Muslims have a different approach toward the Federation. While for the Croats it is a goal in itself, the Muslims see it as a means to an integral Bosnia-Herzegovina. What do you think of all this?

[Ganic] Partners cannot accuse one another in this manner. An integral Bosnia is in our mutual interest. Croatian interests extend to the Drina. Who among the Croatian people can say that we are giving up on the Drina?! Who says that 700 years of Franciscan influence in Bosnia-Herzegovina has to be erased?! You see the Croats have two states—Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is a fact that Bosnia is being divided, but we should fight that. The Serbs are saying that they have created "Greater Serbia." They have Serbia plus 49 percent of Bosnia. We cannot allow this.

B-H: Croat Leader Rejects Concept of Unified Army

LD1804171796 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 18 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Ivan Bender, chairman of the Croat deputies' club in the Constituent Assembly of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and acting president of the Presidential Council of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, today commented on yesterday's session of the federal parliament. Antun Mrkonjic reports from Mostar:

[Mrkonjic] Ivan Bender, chairman of the Croat deputies' club, believes that the Constituent Assembly has completed a part of its job at least adopting the law on counties [zupanija], amnesty, and a series of other bills.

It was expected that draft laws on banking and banks would be adopted too, but the partnering side was not satisfied with the offered proposal.

On the other hand, Croat deputies voted against amendments and addenda to the law on customs which should have been adopted in an urgent procedure.

The most important and difficult issue was not on the agenda of the parliamentary session: federal insignia and defense law. Michael Steiner himself maintains these issues to be almost crucial for the organization of the federation.

Ivan Bender says:

[Begin Bender recording] I expect that we shall prepare the defense law by our next session, which should take place at the beginning of May. It is, however, clear that even here representatives of the Muslim people do not accept what has been agreed on the political level.

They are trying to create a unified army. There can be no question of a unified army. It can only consist of two components and it is well known who is to command one component and who another. For us it is important that a Croat command the Croat Defense Council and that the Croat Defense Council be a part of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation army—the unified army is out of the question.

As for insignia, we should agree on this. What has been offered, and you had the opportunity to see what it looks like... [pauses] Certain commissions have been formed to agree on this but for us, Croats, it is important that our Croat insignia have to stay. [end recording]

[Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian at 1600 GMT on 18 April adds the following recorded comments by Bender:

"I have to say openly that the Muslims want and keep putting to the fore the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which they wish to revive and retain its power on the territory of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, in spite of signed agreements, from Dayton to Sarajevo, and so on.

"It is interesting and the Croat people know that the Muslims want proportional representation and not parity in the federal institutions, and we know how a federation is organized and what it means.

"Simply, they are doing their best to prevent Croats from having institutions with equal rights, and thus make them second-class citizens.

"I trust that we, the Croat deputies, and other officials, helped by the Croatian Democratic Union, will find the solution and build the federation which has been envisaged—it should be the state of equal peoples, the Croats and the Muslims. Otherwise, we know what comes after that."]

B-H: Security Service Head Considers Police Role

AU0704161196 Sarajevo LJILJAN in Serbo-Croatian 27 Mar 96 pp 9-10

[Interview with Enes Bezdrob, head of the Sarajevo center of the Security Service, by Edin Kukavica; place and date not given: "Sarajevo Will Be and Will Remain the Safest City in the World"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kukavica] Could you outline the political security situation in Sarajevo as the reintegration of the greatest part of the concerned territory is coming to an end?

[Bezdrob] The security situation in the city of Sarajevo is currently being seen through the situation in the reintegrated areas. The public information media, especially the foreign media, have written a lot about the situation in Ilidza. In spite of the fact that they themselves manipulate the information, the total number of crimes committed in the area of the entire city, including Ilidza, is much smaller than in comparison with the prewar period, or the period during the war. It is a little-known fact that the international community has limited the number of policemen that we may send into the reintegrated areas. They have also limited the method of carrying out the work, and the kind of work. Our hands have practically been tied in many matters. The best indicator of the senselessness of such measures against our police is the case of a certain Milovan Kalajdzic, whose vehicle overturned on a detour, and in whose vehicle we found four rifles and several kilograms of ammunition.

[Kukavica] The international organizations claim the opposite. The representatives of international organizations claim that the degree of crime has increased substantially ever since the areas of the reintegrated municipalities have come under the authority of the Federation.

[Bezdrob] This simply deals with a different treatment of criminal or security incidents. If we catch a man who is carrying a wet and half-burnt mattress out of a deserted house, the international community will register it as an incident. A few days ago, two citizens of Croat nationality, who moved to Ilidza, found bombs in their house and brought them to the police station. The international community recorded that as an incident as well. They are only interested in statistical information.

[Kukavica] Why are they insisting on a low security situation in the reintegrated municipalities, and especially Ilidza?

[Bezdrob] The international community, through comments such as those made by Alexander Ivanko [UN civilian sector spokesman], continue to equate the sides in this war and to remove artificially all the Federation's arguments for any criticism of IFOR [Implementation Force] soldiers' behavior. The international community cannot permit itself to show that the situation after our arrival has been ideal, because they would thus show the absolute difference in comparison with the regime that had been in power until recently. It is a fact that, in the reintegrated areas, no one has died, been killed, raped, or driven away; there is no revenge, no retributions, kidnappings, explosions.... In a city the size of Sarajevo, 50 persons are imprisoned daily, whereas in this city which has recently ended a war we have arrested eight persons. It is curious to note all eight detainees are Bosniaks. Of the 17 against which we have received criminal complaints, there are also persons of Serb and Croat nationalities.

[Kukavica] You have mentioned an interesting but little known fact. Namely, the international community has limited the number and sphere of action of policemen that enter the reintegrated areas. Is this number enough to prevent eventual problems?

[Bezdrob] Yes. The international community has appointed 545 policemen that may be sent to the reintegrated areas. This number may not be exceeded, but we also had to satisfy the national structure according to the population register from 1991. We abided by both conditions.

[Kukavica] The reintegration of the occupied municipalities is almost at its end. Could you review the problems that you faced in these areas?

[Bezdrob] The protection of roads and buildings is the first problem for which we have prepared well. The extent of this work is proven by the fact that we still have not finished work in all residential buildings, especially in the area of the Ilidza municipality. This was because the reintegrated area was expanding at a high rate, but the number of people doing the work remained the same. We had a really large number of people who wanted to enter together with us. About 20,000 entered Ilidza with us. Sarajevo has been totally reopened with the reintegration of Ilidza, because Ilidza has open road connections from four directions. Our decision to permit the citizens to enter on the first day was used by the media for an attack against the police. First of all, there is nothing to steal in Ilidza, nothing to take or remove. In Ilidza you can only steal trash, rubbish, and the poverty that the Serbs have left behind.

[Kukavica] Did you expect problems in Hadzici and later in Ilidza?

[Bezdrob] I did not expect problems. These are simply deceitful [podmukao] and incorrect moves made by the Croat federation partner. In this manner, my colleague Jozo Leutar [deputy interior minister] decided to bring in 30 policemen from Kiseljak to Hadzici the night before we arrived there. It was known that 5,000 people from Hadzici would enter the area after us. The policemen were not there because of anybody's security or any kind of security. They were deliberately put there in order to blame Bosniaks for eventual problems. If we look at it objectively, why have 30 policemen in Hadzici, dressed in uniforms of the Republic of Croatia? According to the population register from 1991, 3 percent of the inhabitants of Hadzici were Croats. This means two policemen out of the 70 that were foreseen for Hadzici. We appointed five of them. In Ilijas, nine policemen of Croat nationality were foreseen, but we sent in 15. In Vogosca there should be two, but there are eight. Instead of nine being sent to Ilidza, we sent 13. The Croats in olive-colored uniforms are, according to Leutar, not good enough Croats. Later, they used their visit to Michael Steiner [deputy EU mediator] to make a deal regarding the arrival of policemen in blue uniforms. Steiner agreed with them and later, in relation to this, created a problem, because there never was an agreement from our side regarding "multicolored" police uniforms. This is one political farce that I, as a professional policeman, am absolutely not worried about. The uniform is a symbol of one system and one law. If two or three uniforms operate in Ilidza, it practically implies a couple of laws and a couple of systems.

[Kukavica] Before the war, an almost equally small percentage of Croat nationality had lived in the area. In your opinion, why is it so important to the federal partner to participate in the police force that has been assigned to Hadzici and Ilidza? Why did they not show the same amount of interest in Vogosca or in Ilijas?

[Bezdrob] According to the population register from 1991, 7 percent of the population were Croats. The Croat politicians and my colleagues stubbornly wish to carry out the Federation [agreement] in Sarajevo only. With 7 percent of the population they are counting on a considerably larger portion of authority. The only point that is correct about this issue is that they do not hide this, and they state this openly. By placing policemen in Hadzici and Ilidza they are creating the conditions for the eventual formation of a municipality which would border on Kiseljak or even the complete union of the two territories. This is total nonsense, as it is commonly known that the situation in Sarajevo is such that if the Croats and Serbs have a share of the authority, then they have it in Sarajevo, and especially in the police department. It would be interesting to find even one Bosniak working in the police in the Serb entity or in the areas under HVO [Croatian Defense Council] control. Especially if they would be among the heads.

[Kukavica] Do you expect a reaction to your invitation to the Croat federal policemen to return to the CSB [Center of the Security Service] Sarajevo?

[Bezdrob] It is not that I expect it; it is a fact that it will be so. They are already planning such actions. There is a large number of policemen who are asking to be returned to Sarajevo, Ilijas, Vogosca.... in addition to the fact that we already have Croats within the police, and we are again calling all those who wish to return—to come and do so. Because, when a policeman from Kiseljak returns to Sarajevo, one must also permit the return of our people to Kiseljak. Without considering all these current events regarding uniforms and similar minor issues, I believe that this process will move much faster.

[Kukavica] When will the new uniforms arrive?

[Bezdrob] The design has been adopted, the material has been determined, the color has been agreed upon, and now we only need to solve minor technical issues regarding getting the material from Italy and sewing it together.

[Kukavica] Will the police in all the cantons have the same uniforms?

[Bezdrob] The only difference will be in the canton symbols on the uniforms. By then, the federal coat of arms and flag will probably be adopted, so that such problems will be taken care of. They now resent the color of our current uniforms, but few people know that the material for them was in fact donated. That is the basic reason why we wear olive-colored uniforms.

[Kukavica] Are the police that you are administering federal?

[Bezdrob] The term "federal police" has been created by international politicians and journalists. The federal Ministry of Internal Affairs is located on the territory belonging to the Federation, and it is automatically assumed that the entire new police force is, in fact, federal. The federal police do not exist. The Federation consists of 10 cantons which are being formed gradually. The Sarajevo canton has already been formed. On Wednesday, 20 March, the cantonal Ministry of Internal Affairs will be formed. Federal police is only a modern term. The police are not federal, but all the policemen are working for the entire Federation. All policemen will wear the same uniforms, with the cantons' symbols.

[Kukavica] Will there be anything like a Bosnia-Herzegovina FBI?

[Bezdrob] According to this law on the Federation's internal affairs, there will not be anything like it. The canton holds the responsibility for these matters, that is, for security on the territory of the canton. However, there exists a political responsibility, that is, the decision that the leadership of the canton will be responsible for everything that happens there. The federal ministry will have the role to coordinate the cantons, and also the authority over all matters which deal with crime. You could say that here an FBI would exist. The Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs, in its headquarters, will have an agency which will legally be able to deal with matters within the cantons. These are, for example, intercantonal crime, drugs, and similar incidents. They will closely cooperate with the cantons' agencies on these matters, while the canton ministries will be independent financially and regarding personnel matters.

[Kukavica] Will it be possible that two different punishments will be foreseen for the same crime in two different cantons?

[Bezdrob] Theoretically this could happen, but this is unacceptable. The policy on punishment will be regulated harmoniously, so that all canton ministries will soon accept the decision to adopt the federal crime law in order to avoid such possibilities of deforming the crime policy.

[Kukavica] The problem of the administrational line in Dobrinja is expressed in a more severe manner. How will the police solve the problem there?

[Bezdrob] Dobrinja is a very complicated problem. The "border" in Dobrinja is represented by a wall in an apartment, so that the return of the population needs to be solved with the help of political instruments. The problems will then be decreased. We can guarantee our citizens complete security; however, IFOR must solve the problem of eventual incidents and provocations from the other side.

[Kukavica] Are there any indications regarding the possible cooperation between Federation police and the Serb entity?

[Bezdrob] There have been no indications so far. However, there has been one interesting phenomenon. Had there been no pressure from the side of the local authorities and the regime in Pale on the inhabitants to move out, a large number of policemen would certainly have remained working for the police. For example, the case of Sreto Pekic, head of public security in Grbavica, who expressed his desire to stay and work at the police. A certain number of policemen explained that they must leave for a few days because of their own security, and explained that they will later return. The question arises as to whether they will be allowed to return at all. Probably as time passes, when they realize that they did not get what they were promised by Karadzic and Krajisnik, they will ask themselves why they even left in the first place.

[Box, p 10]

War Profiteers Are the Real Problem in Kiseljak

Demonstrations were organized in Kiseljak on 8 March this year. Taxi drivers that drove cars with official Bosnia-Herzegovina license plates had their cars wrecked. This was calmly observed by policemen who, probably, were not allowed to react. Kiseljak played a shameful role in this war. This town, which was basically an "appendix" before the war, has become the marketplace for the HVO and the Chetniks. The time has come to restore Kiseljak to its prewar role. The official authorities are not so much of a problem in Kiseljak. The real problem is a small group of extremists who have grown so wealthy that they can finance their own private armies. They are now left without authority and influence over them. Local authorities and police have been stripped of authority. Because of that, in Kiseljak, Ivica Rajic or a certain Pijuk, who was a physical laborer before the war, are stronger than the police or politicians in an organizational, material, and every other sense.

[Box, p 10]

The International Police Should Be Given Credit

It was planned that 1700 international policemen, intended solely for the supervision and giving of advice to our police forces, come to Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, Peter Fitzgerald and his team are top professionals and do not touch politics at any time. Their presence should be used to the maximum extent. There is a code within the police, and that is the code of professional cooperation.

B-H: Gen Dudakovic Comments on Abdic Case

AU1704084596 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Apr 96 p 9

[Interview with Atif Dudakovic, B-H Army division general, by Danica Juricic; place and date not given: "Babo Is a Traitor!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "He is our 'Duce'; we call him 'Duce,'" the soldiers laugh. Why? For no particular reason, just for fun, they shortened Dudakovic's surname. The general undoubtedly has a charismatic popularity among his soldiers. He has been through thick and thin with them, always in the front lines of the legendary 5th Corps. And he would give anything for the army, the soldiers say. "He would give his own boots to a soldier," one of them stresses, and his words put the final touch on Dudakovic's image as a leader. General Atif Dudakovic has become a member of the Head Committee of the SDA [the Party of Democratic Action], which means that the party is seriously counting on him for the upcoming elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The General's first comment on that was a mysterious but triumphant smile, and he said nothing. Still, mentioning Fikret Abdic does the trick. Babo [Bosnian Muslim dialect word for father] has founded a party, he intends to enter the elections and come back to Kladusa victoriously. Who will win the elections in the Una-Sana Canton? If only we could record the way Dudakovic looked when this question was asked! It spurred him to speak.

[Dudakovic] Well, we are not at all interested in Abdic any more. He is history. It is a fact that I am a member of the Head Committee of the SDA; it is possible that the party is counting on me for the elections, but that still does not mean that I am going to be their candidate. I am a member of the Head Committee of the party with the greatest number of members in the B-H Army, the party that did most to equip, arm and prepare the people for defense.

[Juricic] Have you heard how prolific the Croatian press was in writing about the arrested group that allegedly intended to liquidate Abdic? There are lots of rumors, and you might soon be suspected too, probably because of some of your statements. You must have said such things in the heat of the moment, haven't you?

[Dudakovic] I learned about that group of assassins from the Zagreb media, but I have no idea what it is all about. It is certain that the 5th Corps services have nothing to do with that. We fight our enemies, but only inside the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Abdic's policy has lost all attraction for us. It is a fact that we still consider him an enemy of our people, and I will always say so. He should not come here. What would you wish your enemy? Would you love him?! His son was in Divulje, Croatia, his wife and daughter are there, and he should be our president?! That is ridiculous! It is a known fact who defended this region and liberated it from the chetniks. Now we have international organizations here to investigate the genocide, and I think that Abdic might be condemned for his crimes too.

[Juricic] How would you define Abdic's bill of indictment?

[Dudakovic] His two major crimes are: the exploitation of the people—he even stopped the humanitarian convoys for a while—and the founding of concentration camps that held several hundreds of civilians.

[Juricic] Then, how can Abdic be in Rijeka now, instead of in The Hague?

[Dudakovic] We cannot sentence him for any crime because he committed no actual murders, but he is responsible for what happened in this area. He took part in killing our people directly.

[Juricic] Why is it so difficult to prove those crimes?

[Dudakovic] There were no mass murders of civilians here. The situation here was not similar to that in Ahmici, Srebrenica, or Zepa. Still, killing civilians is not the only kind of crime—look at his crime toward his state and his own people. Collaboration with the enemy, conjoining with the chetniks. Can treason be forgiven?

[Juricic] Is Abdic still a real hindrance to Croat-Muslim relations here in Bihac, Cazin, or Kladusa, or within the entire Federation?

[Dudakovic] It is certain that he still hinders all these relations and creates distrust toward those who accept and help our enemies. Every activity of the other side must be taken with caution.

[Juricic] General, let us end our conversation with some military matters. Immediately after the liberation of Bihac and Bosanska Krupa, you said: "Our plan is to liberate the three Bs: Bihac, Banja Luka, and Bijeljina." Have you given up Banja Luka?

[Dudakovic] No, we have not given up Banja Luka. As we know, the Declaration on Bosnia-Herzegovina has been signed. Bosnia-Herzegovina has survived politically, it has been recognized by more than 100 countries, and its statehood is growing stronger step by step.

B-H: Struggle of SDA, Croats, Siladjdzic's Party

AU1904095996 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 14 Apr 96 p 2

[Commentary by Jozo Pavkovic: "Nervousness in SDA"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Saturday [13 April] in Sarajevo was marked by two events—in both cases meetings: the interrupted federation meeting, and the founding meeting of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina, headed by the former prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Haris Silajdzic. The founding meeting has caused much more attention among the citizens of Sarajevo than in the media over there. Although Silajdzic is satisfied with the response of numerous Bosniak politicians, one nevertheless has the impression that he will hardly be able to parry Izetbegovic's SDA [Party of Democratic Action]. However, it is more than noticeable that there is nervousness because of it in the ruling party, nervousness that one could feel in the appearances of the party's representatives at the Constitutional Assembly. The session was a good reason for promotion, first of all among its own membership, fearing that they will go over to Silajdzic's party.

Therefore, there were harsh reactions to any appearance of the present Muslim opposition representatives in the federation parliament, even when their stands did not clash with those of the SDA.

Of course, the Croat representatives received the same treatment. Above all, the Croatian leadership was attacked. The Croatian side was accused of all sorts of failures, and Kresimir Zubak's resignation has frequently been demanded. The SDA also had nothing against sacrificing Ejup Ganic, whose rating is falling in Sarajevo, because, according to them, as a Muslim he is growing worse and worse. A real avalanche of accusations was directed at Croat ministers. For instance, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance in the Federal Government Drago Bilandzija, is literally being pursued because he, allegedly, destroyed Bosnia-Herzegovina's dinar.

Such behavior among SDA representatives has deepened the crisis in the implementation of the Federation Project even more. The session has proved that in the negotiations between the Croats and Muslims every question has become a controversial issue and that something will have to fundamentally change in the future. It is really more than evident that there are two different concepts and approaches to the Federation. The Muslims see it as a means to reach their objective, described as a civic Bosnia-Herzegovina (which was advocated precisely by Silajdzic while in the SDA), while the Croats, on the other hand, want it arranged as a community consisting of counties, in which the two nations arrange their relations on an equal footing. As Silajdzic's Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina program, which will occupy the political center, is very close to the majority of the Muslim people, the representatives of SDA were trying at that very session (because the elections are approaching) to show that it was a part of their political program, too. Perhaps that was the reason why the floor was taken so frequently by Dzevad Mlaco, mayor of Bugojno, who is considered a war criminal by many Croats. In such an atmosphere, the assembly was doomed to fail, and the Federation has not been given a coat of arms, flag, and a multitude of laws without which it cannot function at all.

B-H: Private TV Station Accuses State TV of Deception

AU1804094096 Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE (European edition) in Serbo-Croatian 13-14 Apr 96 p 9

[Article by Miroslav Petrovic: "FS-3 Versus TV Tuzla"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Apart from state television, Tuzla also has three other television companies. Two of these are active, and the third has announced that it will soon be reactivated. Their relations with one another are such that we can freely say that they are behaving like cats and dogs!

With the elections coming closer, it seems that the war between the media, that is, the television companies, is blazing up [razbuktava]. To contribute to this we have the "broadcasting in public" of the Television Studio FS-3, along with the "material" with which TV Tuzla, now a public company, is being accused of "deceiving the public as well as international organizations and institutions."

"Radio Television Tuzla, a public company in state ownership, has falsely been representing itself as Tuzla Independent Television, only to secure donations in equipment and financial support, which is meant exclusively for independent television stations," said Sinan Alic, director and main editor of TV Studio FS-3. He pointed out a number of documents proving that TV Tuzla is not an independent medium, but that it was even formed on the basis of the studio lead by Alic.

Torture and Violence

Alic says that the founder of RTV [Radio Television] Tuzla was the assembly of the municipality, that the medium is being administered by an administrative committee that is also named by the Municipal Assembly of Tuzla, now the Municipal Council, at the suggestion of the cabinet of the head. Furthermore, the director and main directors are named by this same municipal body, which controls and supervises the radio and television station Tuzla.

Moreover, says Alic, the RTV Tuzla public company was formed as a consequence of the torture and violence that the state exercised over the independent television station TV Studio FS-3. This can be seen from its founding statement. "By deciding to form TV Tuzla, the work of our studio was prohibited. We were then, as well as now, the only legal television station that was properly registered, with a permit to operate on the 32d UHF channel. The Law on Informing of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina was thus violated," emphasized Alic.

Truly, with the beginning of TV Tuzla's operation, TV Studio FS-3 stopped operating, and five of its reporters were mobilized to work for TV Tuzla, where they remain today. Meanwhile, FS-3 has not been transmitting (it did not have the equipment) until recently. That was when the stamp [markica] of a studio was added to the program, with which it is permitted to operate.

B-H: UBSD's Tokic Explains Opposition to SDA

AU1704112296 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Apr 96 p 13

[Interview with UBSD Chairman Sejfudin Tokic by Dragan Banjac in Tuzla; date not given: "Izetbegovic Is Not the President of Everyone in Bosnia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina Social Democrats (UBSD) is currently the strongest opposition party in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the 1990 elections, running as Reformists for [former Yugoslav prime minister] Ante Markovic, they won 10 percent of the vote for the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly. Sejfudin Tokic, chairman of the UBSD Executive Committee, particularly stresses that during the war the party did not participate in the state's authorities, although throughout it was wholeheartedly engaged in the struggle against nationalism and chauvinism, dissociating itself from Izetbegovic and his party as well.

"For that reason, we were oppressed by all three national parties that formed their coalition. We were called traitors, bad Muslims, Serbs, or Croats, which had already become common. In addition, the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] shelled us, food supplies were blocked, and we were often subject to arrest," Tokic says.

The Problem Is the SDA [Party of Democratic Action]

[Banjac] But Tuzla has survived, as has the UBSD.

[Tokic] During the war we were determined to preserve Tuzla. Although this may sound like self-promotion, it is not. Here there has always been just enough unity to prevent it from disintegrating. Furthermore, we have succeeded, but not simply because we are in power. Otherwise, how do you explain that the Social Democratic Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina [SDP] won Vares, but still failed to stay in power? True, we have neglected the general region of Tuzla, but we have done everything to preserve a civic society here. The reason for the surrounding region being in a different situation from here is that Tuzla, as a city of 150,000, was treated in the same way as municipalities of just 3,000. [sentence as published] Still, we have been quite a powerful opposition party.

[Banjac] To judge from the UBSD congress, your intention is to "export" the so-called Tuzla democracy.

[Tokic] Our membership is increasing every day (we have 40,000 members at the moment). Even people from the Serb Republic are joining us, because they are feeling betrayed. Bosnia-Herzegovina is devastated, with 2 million refugees and displaced persons, not to mention the 200,000 or 300,000 killed in the war. The citizens are impoverished, while, on the other hand, you have state officials who have acquired fortunes and kept their families out of the fighting. For the time being, we are the only party in Bosnia-Herzegovina that offers the people what is actually the future of Bosnia.

[Banjac] But the nationalists are still not giving up, are they?

[Tokic] Incredible as this may sound, we do not think there will be any problems with the Serb Democratic Party [SDS] or the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ], which will eventually fall apart, I am sure. The problem is with the Party of Democratic Action [SDA], which is, in fact, a populist movement, more or less radical. However, they are facing a major crisis as well. Now, after the latest personnel changes, the most radical ones appear to have remained, namely Izetbegovic's group of former fellow prisoners, from the first or second trial. The problem is that these parties are not in themselves democratic. Otherwise, how would you explain that it regularly occurs that, when a decision is made by the SDA's Main Board, none of the 120 members opposes it? They do not meet to make decisions, but rather to confirm already made decisions.

[Banjac] What do you think about Izetbegovic?

[Tokic] First of all, I think it is a tragedy for Bosnia-Herzegovina that a national party won such attention and power in the elections. All the more so as we know that a multiethnic society in the region had to be defended, which was the only possible way. In the [prewar] coalition with the SDS and the HDZ they projected the war and then, when you consider Belgrade's and Zagreb's assistance in planning a greater Serbia and a greater Croatia, you finally see the picture of our reality.

As for Izetbegovic, he seems to be quite competent at daily political games, but he has never sufficiently insisted on his professed multiethnic principles. He has never presented himself as the president of all the citizens in Bosnia-Herzegovina, either.

In addition, during the four years of war in Bosnia, extreme differences between ours and Izetbegovic's vision of Bosnia-Herzegovina came to light. They [the SDA] are not to be trusted on any issue, and I will give you an illustrative example. When the ambassador of a large country on one occasion took a look at the platforms of the national parties, his comment was that all of them were democratic. But now we can see what that democracy brought about.

A Choice Between Totalitarism and Democracy

[Banjac] Elections are nearing. What do you expect from the coalition block and particularly from the UBSD?

[Tokic] The next elections will be a choice between totalitarism and democracy. We have quite a solid corps of voters. It includes all those who are against the SDA. The party is moving to Sarajevo soon, from where I will be leading the UBSD until the elections. For the time being, in addition to our party, there are the Muslim Bosniak Organization, the Croatian Peasants Party, the SDP, the Republicans, and Haris Silajdzic, who seems to be indecisive. On several occasions, he has taken some action that led us to demand to know what line he follows. He appears to be a man who left the SDA for some everyday political reason. He will be able to win over some of our voters, but only if he opposes Izetbegovic. However, the fact that they recently sat together at the same table had a negative effect on his reputation. He has particularly lost votes in Sarajevo and the question is whether all this is just a game.

[Banjac] You are counting on Serb votes as well, are you not?

[Tokic] Even at the height of the war, we cooperated with the two groups (Zivanovic's liberals and Dodik's social-democrats [in the Serb entity]). I hope that we will be putting forward joint candidates in Brcko, but right now I do not want to talk about that, because many things depend on the electoral procedures. In that respect, we expect certain changes, but even under the current circumstances I am hoping for cooperation with the Serbs and the Croats. We are certainly counting on their votes as well, because we are offering them more than any other party, which is what the civilized world offers them.

[Banjac] What about aid from the world?

[Tokic] If aid fails to come, we shall be hostages to the huge sums that the nationalists have acquired through crime, looting, selling humanitarian aid, transformation of state assets into their parties' assets, etc. After the establishment of some elementary norms of civilized behavior, the media are the second priority. In this regard, the international community has two options at the moment: to bind the existing media together or to form a special, so-called Bildt television, which is a more expensive option. However, the most important thing is that it is the international community that will lay down the rules of conduct. My optimism is founded on contacts with ordinary people and similar reactions are coming from the Serb Republic as well. People are ready to acknowledge the mistakes that they made and condemn all those who caused such a disaster.

[Banjac] Will Bosnia survive?

[Tokic] It certainly will. But it is a process. It is impossible to divide Bosnia, and its external borders will remain unchanged. They must be preserved. To speak about an unified Bosnia today is not realistic from the current political viewpoint. But to speak about Bosnia-Herzegovina as a decentralized community of nations is not unrealistic and that is our reality. What remains to be done is to bring all the criminals to justice because without this there will be no conditions for a lasting peace. Therefore, it is no wonder that crimes are being proclaimed as national interests and criminals heroes. If we need any more such things, just go ahead, it will serve you right.

[Box, p 13]

[Tokic] The current political partners cannot secure the return of the refugees to their homes. If the Dayton accord were to be consistently implemented, it would be the end of nationalists and their options. The meeting in Paris was nothing more than pressure being applied by the international community to get the agreement implemented and prevent its obstruction. The implementation can be carried out only by the forces that we are mobilizing. And when you look at it, is not it indicative that we at our congress managed to rally the oppositions to Izetbegovic, Karadzic, Tudjman, and

Milosevic, which hardly anybody else in Europe would be able to do?

[Box, p 13]

[Banjac] Tokic is said to be one of the major representatives of the new political wave in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Together with a few former communists now clustering around Durakovic, the indisputable Beslagic (with the insecure Silajdzic), and a few new names, he is expected to be the pillar of the new team. This is indicated by his planned visit to Belgrade. He says that he will be visiting the editorial board of a newspaper and some nongovernmental organizations, but he is coming to Belgrade primarily to visit the president of Serbia, who has invited him.

B-H: Sarajevo Serbs Reportedly Harassed by Muslim Police

LD1804130296 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1120 GMT 18 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 18 Apr (SRNA)—Despite IFOR [Implementation Force] guarantees on the freedom of movement, remaining Serbs in Grbavica are increasingly frequently arrested and maltreated by the Muslim authorities.

According to accounts by Serbs who went to the Muslim part of Sarajevo, those few Serb citizens who remained in Grbavica are frequently taken from their flats by the Muslim police for "informative talks," and they are exposed to maltreatment and humiliation.

B-H: POW's in Sarajevo Prison Said 'Exposed to Torture'

LD1804123596 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1045 GMT 18 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 18 Apr (SRNA)—Dragan Bulajic, chairman of the Serb Republic commission for POW exchange, again voiced a proposal to the Croat and Muslim sides in former Bosnia-Herzegovina today that the remaining POW's should be released first and only after that may they be handed over to The Hague Tribunal, should their responsibility for war crimes be established.

"We do not want Serb Army Colonel Aleksa Krsmanovic's case to be repeated; he is still kept in Muslim prison, even though The Hague Tribunal cleared him of all charges," Mr. Bulajic told SRNA adding that this agreement would not undermine the authority of the international war crimes tribunal.

Mr. Bulajic said that Kresimir Zubak, president of the Croat-Muslim federation, had rejected this agreement on behalf of the Croat side, while a reply from Muslim Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic was still expected.

Bulajic, who yesterday paid a visit to 26 Serb POW's in the central Sarajevo prison together with lawyer Igor Pantelic, confirmed that they were exposed to torture and that they were in extremely bad health, Colonel Krsmanovic in particular.

"In contravention of a previous agreement, we were not allowed to have talks alone with them and learn about proceedings being conducted against them," Bulajic said adding that prisoners were not even allowed to meet each other.

Bulajic said he believed more Serbs who had not been registered by the ICRC were kept in other prisons in former Bosnia-Herzegovina; he said he would try to pay a visit to Serb prisoners kept in prisons in the Republic of Croatia next week.

B-H: Kasagic Says No Financial Aid Provided to RS

LD1804135596 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1254 GMT 18 Apr 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, April 18 (TANJUG)—Premier of the (Bosnian Serb state) Republika Srpska Rajko Kasagic said Thursday the Republika Srpska had not received a dollar for its recovery and reconstruction.

Kasagic told TANJUG that the Muslim-Croat federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which he said was favoured by the United States and Germany, had received more than 200 million German marks.

Of this sum, 65 million dollars have been donated by the European Fund for Social Development, he said.

He said the Bosnian Serbs had until recently been denied contacts with the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and other international institutions due to the U.N. Security Council sanctions against the Republika Srpska.

The Republika Srpska has prepared about 2,750 recovery and reconstruction programmes that are to be financed by the internationaly community.

The condition for financial assistance to the Republika Srpska are elections, although no conditions for the assistance are set in the case of the Muslim-Croat federation, he said.

Kasagic listed as priorities in the recovery and reconstruction of the Republika Srpska roads and railways, electric-power system and telecommunications, and said the Republika Srpska's future rested upon establishment of ties with all neighbouring countries.

The Republika Srpska has adopted a single regulation on trade and exchange of services with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro) and the Muslim-Croat federation, he said.

The regulation on a complete liberalisation of trade with the Muslim-Croat federation has not gone into effect because the federation is making lists of war crimes suspects despite an agreement reached in Rome in February stipulating that no one can be arrested if the Hague-based international war crimes tribunal does not issue a warrant for his arrest, he said.

Kasagic said the Muslim-Croat federation wanted to bring back to life Bosnia-Herzegovina with all elements of statehood, although he said this was not possible as long as elections were not held.

Referring to the coming elections, Kasagic said the Republika Srpska was prepared for them and that its position was that the elections were vital, because he said in some cases the same people had been holding the office for six years.

Expressing hope that the Republika Srpska would become a part of a single Serb state, Kasagic said a peace accord reached in Dayton, Ohio, in late November envisaged that the Republika Srpska establish special ties with Yugoslavia.

Kasagic said, 'We have been at war with neighbouring peoples and states already three times in this century and the time has come to overcome war and mutual killings and to establish cooperation based on economic interests.'

He said the Republika Srpska had already opened talks with the former Yugoslav republics of Croatia and Slovenia.

B-H: RS Defense Minister on Reorganization of Army

AU1904101896 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 17 Apr 96

[Interview with Serb Republic Defense Minister Milan Ninkovic by Marinko Ucur in the "Dnevnik" program—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Ucur] The guest of tonight's "Dnevnik" newscast is Serb Republic Defense Minister Milan Ninkovic. Good evening and welcome.

[Ninkovic] Good evening.

[Ucur] Most of the deadlines for the implementation of the military part of the Dayton Accord have expired. To what extent did the Serb Republic fulfill its obligations, particularly with regard to the demobilization of the Serb Republic Army soldiers?

[Ninkovic] The Serb Republic implemented all segments of the Dayton Accord. I think that TOA [Transfer of Authority] plus 120 expires tomorrow. Consequently, the Serb Republic implemented all agreements contained in the Dayton Accord. I believe that, in distinction to the civilian part of the agreement, it is very [word indistinct].

[Ucur] Can we say that along with the restoration of peace, certain defense preparations are also under way, so that the Serb Republic, i.e. its armed forces, are prepared for the future.

[Ninkovic] You see, within the framework of the Dayton Accord the army has also made certain preparations. A military-territorial division of the Serb Republic has been made. Furthermore, the reorganization of our army is drawing to a close. We are also developing our defense system. I would like to add that we are prepared to look for military allies in the world, in Europe, and in Yugoslavia, in keeping with the agreement. We know that all previous agreements failed and we are being extremely careful about the implementation of the Dayton Accord.

[Ucur] Minister Ninkovic, tens of thousand members of the Serb Republic army were demobilized a couple of months ago and in the past couple of weeks. There seems to be a vacuum between their employment and service in the army. They do not work yet, as our economy is not fully revitalized, they are no longer in the army and they have problems exercising their basic rights, right to medical services, welfare, etc. What steps does the government, i.e. your ministry, take to eliminate the vacuum?

[Ninkovic] Demilitarization of conscripts of the military reserve is under way as planned by the Dayton Accord and the order of the supreme commander. A certain number of conscripts have been demobilized. We thought our economy could employ a larger number of former soldiers, but we now see that the revitalization process is not as fast as it was announced after sanctions were lifted. Consequently, a great number of conscripts were left jobless. However, the government is doing everything to revitalize the economy which will ultimately create more jobs for the demobilized conscripts.

[Ucur] Minister Ninkovic, we will talk about that some other time in one of our special programs we intend to broadcast in a couple of days. Thank you for coming here.

B-H: Socialists Protest to Kasagic About 'Attacks'

AU1504134496 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Apr 96 p 14

[Open letter from the SPRS to the Rajko Kasagic, "prime minister" of the Bosnian Serb entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina: "The Legal Work of the SPRS Has Been Affected by Pressures and Threats"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 8 April—The Socialist Party of the Serb Republic [SPRS] has written an open letter to the Serb Republic's prime minister, which reads as follows:

"Dear Sir,

"In light of the increasing number of threats, provocations, and open physical attacks on the institutions, organizations, and individual members of the SPRS, and especially in light of the brutal terrorist attack that occurred in Blatnica in the Teslic municipality on Sunday, 24 March 1996, the SPRS's Executive Committee decided at a special session on 26 March 1996 to send this open letter to you.

"We would like to remind you that the SPRS is a legally organized and registered political organization that publicly organizes its activities, according to the laws of the Serb Republic and according to its own program. Up to now, we have harmonized our activities with the state of war, with the whole political situation and the priorities of the struggle for national, nation-building, spiritual, economic, social, and other interests of our people. Today, in conditions of peace, we are aiming our political activity at the reconstruction and development of the Serb Republic, the development of democratic political relations, the multiparty parliamentary system and life in general, the consistent implementation of peace agreements, and the creation of conditions for permanent peace. The SPRS supports constructive and tolerant relations and cooperation with all legally organized parties, including the ruling party. "Respecting the stipulations of the peace agreements, we are now making political and other preparations for the forthcoming parliamentary elections in the Serb Republic. Like a majority of other parties, our party has also undertaken certain activities in this respect. In its political activities, which are legal, the SPRS, however, is encountering intolerant and biased treatment by certain other parties, state bodies, and mass media. What surprises and worries us most are the increasingly frequent open threats, physical, and psychological molesting, and brutal attacks. We have already notified the responsible institutions of the Serb Republic and the general public about such events in Teslic, Bijeljina, Banja Luka, and elsewhere. Many of them have remained unresolved, however. We are outraged about the pressure, blackmail, and threats toward bodies and members of our party in Teslic, Doboj, Prnjavor, Samac, Kozarska Dubica [Serb name for Bosanska Dubica], Prijedor, [Bosanska] Gradiska, Han-Pijesak, and so on. We know that such treatment is supported by individuals from the leadership of the state bodies (the state) and the SDS [Serb Democratic Party].

"The incident in Blatnica that occurred two days ago has all the characteristics of a terrorist attack. A group of armed and unrestrained paramilitaries burst into a legally convened SPRS meeting. They had previously been trained and technically equipped by the military authorities in Teslic and the civil defense in Doboj. It led to a physical assault on SPRS members Vojko Pozderovic and Milivoj Lazic. The former suffered serious injuries and is still in hospital.

"Such a procedure is a serious violation of public order and peace, and basic human rights and freedoms. It is surprising that the police would not intervene. What is more, they have not done anything at all so far. It is especially symptomatic that this happened in the Teslic municipality, where similar things have also occurred before (the illegal replacement of managers who were SPRS members, misuse of weapons by a deputy in the people's assembly, the priest Savo Knezevic, the forcible dismissal of the manager of the 'Borje' company).

"In light of the threats and the attitude toward the SPRS, these incidents point to very damaging political motives and behavior. Legal multiparty and democratic work is being hampered in this way and, what is more, public order and the physical security of individuals from our party are being violated. This is also a danger to peace in the Serb Republic and a preparation for terrorist attacks with far-reaching negative consequences. It is indicative that such phenomena are occurring now, in the period of the reconstruction and the development of our young state, its establishment as a state, and during the process in which the huge consequences of the war, the international blockade, and isolation should be removed.

"It is also indicative that the work of the SPRS is being subjected to pressure and threats throughout the republic and that individuals from official state and political bodies are participating in these incidents. This leads us to conclude that similar things that happened earlier have not been treated adequately; the bodies in charge have not taken legal measures according to the constitution, which is a precedent with far-reaching consequences.

"The SPRS warns that in this situation incidents could grow into a regular behavior, toward not only the SPRS, but also other political opponents. This would be a phenomenon well known in the most brutal Stalinist and fascists systems and times. We therefore expect and require that the above-mentioned case in Blatnica is treated professionally according to the law, by taking appropriate measures to solve it. Those who caused it should be treated according to the law, including dismissals of individuals from the bodies of the ministry of internal affairs who were involved in the event.

"If such a thing is tolerated, it means that the official bodies of the state are either involved, or are incapable of controlling or mastering the situation. We simply do not want to believe in either of these. If attacks against our party and its legal political work are not prevented, we shall be forced to require that international forces enable us to carry out our political work or we shall organize ourselves to preserve our safety. In that case, the present leadership and the ruling party will take the responsibility for possible consequences, first of all for the conflict among its own people, for any possible incident, and for the political shame. We are convinced that the government will take energetic measures in connection with the above-mentioned events and inform both us and the public about the results," reads the letter signed by Dragutin Ilic, SPRS chairman.

B-H: Serb Socialist Leader Assails Karadzic, Krajisnik

LD1704165496 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0857 GMT 17 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—Dr. Dragutin Ilic, chairman of the Socialist Party of the Serb Republic [SP RS], has said that his party is in favor of the Serb Republic as a state of the Serb people with all legal instruments and equal rights granted to all its citizens.

He told the Banja Luka-based NEZAVISNE NOVINE that the essential message of the SP RS congress, scheduled for 1 June 1996, will be "through reconstruction and development to normalization." Ilic said that it is "logical to give priority to the Serb Republic, i.e. to strengthening its statehood within the common state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, taking into account its unfavorable environment."

"We will do everything to preserve the Serb Republic's statehood within the common state and we will naturally remain open to cooperation with other entities," Ilic said.

Commenting on the preparations for the forthcoming congress, he said that the party enjoys great popular support at election rallies and added that the Socialist Party is supported even in unexpected places—in mountainous regions and villages.

"This is the best proof that the people do not identify us with the Communists. They respect us as an organization which expresses the interests of our people," Ilic said.

Commenting on preparations for the forthcoming elections, he said that certain recent incidents "were caused by the Serb Democratic Party [SDS] in an effort to scare other parties into inactivity."

"Unable to challenge our arguments in a constructive dialogue, the SDS is resorting to tricks and fabrications," Ilic said.

"For example, they are accusing us of being against our people, of wanting to put the Serb people under Muslim-Croat domination," he said.

"The failure of the Serb Republic delegation to attend the Brussels [donors] meeting is yet another in a series of mistakes committed by the leadership of the Serb Republic," Ilic said.

According to Ilic, there are two reasons for this: "The Karadzic-Krajisnik duo is alarmed by the strengthening of Prime Minister Rajko Kasagic's position, and the other reason is that, unlike previous governments, this one is using its constitutional powers."

Ilic said that these reasons were behind preparations to replace Prime Minister Kasagic at the last session of the People's Assembly of the Serb Republic.

He said that the people of the Serb Republic are still hostages of a senseless policy carried out by those who value their positions more than national interests.

Ilic said that various crime scandals which have shaken the Serb Republic will have to be resolved because, above all, the people demand it. "The authorities have tricked the people by setting up certain commissions to deal with the scandals."

He said it is possible that "one of these days capitalists from abroad will show up and announce that they have bought state companies, as attempted in the case of the Brod refinery and Zvornik Glinica [aluminium industry]."

Ilic is of the opinion that the authorities do not stand a chance in the elections.

B-H: Serb Republic's Socialist Party Holds Conference

AU1704093596 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Apr 96 p 14

[Article by D.Pejak: "No Coalition With National Parties"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Milici, 11 April—In January of this year, the Socialist Party of the Serb Republic [Socialisticka Partija Republike Srpske SPRS] had only a few members in Milici, in that part of the Serb Republic. Now there are more than 120, and it is expected that this number will increase more and more in the forthcoming period. Apart from other things, this is what was heard at the first election conference of the municipal committee of the SPRS. The conference was attended by members and supporters of this party from the Milici area and neighboring municipalities, from the part of the Serb Republic that is called Birac. It was also attended by delegations of the Socialist Party of Serbia of the municipal committees of Grocka and Loznica, headed by Dragoslav Vucenovic and Zivota Isakovic. The two are both secretaries of the executive committee of the SPS municipal committee.

Participating in the work of the conference was Nedo Duric, a member of the executive committee of the SPRS city committee. He also said that "there will be no coalition with the national parties, with those parties that accuse us of betraying national interests, who had made coalitions with Muslims and Croats but today they deny that."

When talking of the socioeconomic system, Duric said that it will develop based on the basic laws—the labor and market principles. He also said that "the equality of all kinds of ownership does not also mean the quick sell-off of state ownership. Privatization will go through only when it is known what is being done with the proceeds from sales, as well as to whom it will go. The sale of the people's property must not be permitted to go underpriced, so that it is bought up by war profiteers, and that the soldiers who had brought the freedom be their mercenaries tomorrow.

"Along with the acceptance of the Dayton agreement came peace, and the conditions for the functioning of a multiparty system have been met. In this system, the SPRS will not be a mute observer, but an active participant in the political events. Its goal will be to assume authority and to take the fate of the Serb nation into its own hands. The SPRS does not desire this because it wants to rule, or to be first, but because it is, with its program determination, putting all its energy into the interests of the Serb people," said Nedo Duric. He emphasized that "we must never forget that we are moving toward our original country of Serbia; but not as an exiled people, but as a state with a people."

Borosan Ivanovic, a sociology professor, was elected as the head of the Municipal Committee of the SPRS Milici. Until now, he has been the leader of the local socialists.

Among other things, he said: "Our permanent goal is the formation of a single state community with Serbia in Yugoslavia. The fresh graves of our fellow townsmen, the tears of our mothers, thousands of graves of our brothers, and wounded childhoods are the source and origin of our firmness to be [part of] Serbia tomorrow."

Ivanovic also said the following: "We are for the healthy competition of ideas, programs, and personnel, but against political primitivism, and especially political fascism."

B-H: Intellectuals' Forum Warns of 'Economic Collapse'

AU1804162696 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Apr 96

[Report by Branislav Bozic from Banja Luka]

[FBIS Translated Text] If the current approach to the economy does not change, the Serb Republic [RS] faces economic collapse. This is the assessment of the Serb Intellectual Forum in Banja Luka. Branislav Bozic reports:

[Bozic] The situation in the economy is deteriorating, there are no serious signs of help from the international community, and a strategy for reconstruction and development has not been devised. This pessimistic analysis of the situation in the RS economy was presented by members of the Serb Intellectual Forum—Mladen Ivanic and Rajko Tomas, professors at the College for Economics, and Slobodan Kustrinovic, director general of the Cajavec company—at a news conference in Banja Luka today.

In order not to present just an assessment of the situation, the Intellectual Forum has also proposed urgent measures. These imply, above all, sorting our economic regulations, as the current regulations amount to a combination of various laws and decrees passed at different times, and do not provide a good atmosphere for conducting business. The Forum also wants public expenditure in the RS to be urgently reexamined. As many as 300,000 people are using budget funds, while only 90,000 are working in production.

The high profile of the network of educational institutions is overly ambitious, particularly with regard to higher educational institutions, as almost all the larger towns have colleges and higher schools. The network of institutions dealing with information is too enormous, but is not efficient to the same degree. An exceptionally high number of quasi-cultural activities are being organized. The state administration is fairly expensive and inefficient.

The state leadership should do two things: focus on the economy, which according to the Forum has not been the case so far, and second, be more clear about the Dayton agreement, that is, the concept of reconstruction that stems from it.

Finally, the state leadership and the government have been asked to consult expert institutions and experts on reconstruction and development. These experts do exist in the RS, but are being kept on the sidelines, for whatever reason.

Croatia: Tudjman, Gligorov Reject New Unions in Balkans

AU1804165396 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 13 Apr 96 pp 1-2

[Article by Mira Suvar: "Zagreb and Skopje Against a New Yugoslav Community"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov was welcomed today in the Croatian capital with high state honors and was cordially and warmly received, not only in the Presidential Palace and the Croatian Assembly, but also in all other places during his visit to Zagreb.

President Gligorov, his wife, and members of the Macedonian delegation— Tomislav Cokrevski, Zivko Kondev, Ahil Tunte, Viktor Gaber, Servet Avzinu, Liljana Naumova, and Trajce Ilievski—were met in the Presidential Palace by President Tudjman, his wife, and members of the Croatian delegation, which also included Foreign Minister Mate Granic, who had been accompanying the prominent guests from Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] all day today.

After the formal ceremony, organized for the highest state officials in front of the Presidential Palace, the two delegations held talks lasting one and a half hours. Presidents Tudjman and Gligorov then made statements to the many domestic and foreign correspondents. President Tudjman stressed that he attaches enormous importance to the visit by President Gligorov and the Macedonian delegation and recalled that the good relations between the Croatian and Macedonian peoples have existed for centuries, since anciet times (since the time of the brothers Cyril and Methodius). He stressed that during today's talks, the two delegations expressed very similar views, even identical views, on the basic problems of the two countries, Croatia and Macedonia, and of this part of the world. He stressed that Macedonia and Croatia "believe that all the countries created from the territory of the former Yugoslavia are equal successors to the former joint community," and that this right cannot be assumed only by the current Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. He also said that Croatia and Macedonia have identical views on relations with their neighbors and that these relations "need to be built on the basis of mutual recognition, independence, and sovereignty; we are opposed to all ideas of renewal, in whatever form, of the former Yugoslav community or some kind of Adriatic or Balkan confederation or union in southeastern Europe." He stated that he and President Gligorov believe that, in that sense, "the best solution is to create the preconditions for a new international order in that region" and that the two countries will simultaneously take part in the historical integration in this region "without any special regional integration in this area." He expressed the view that all the conditions and motives exist for the development of comprehensive friendly economic, cultural, and scientific and all other relations between Croatia and Macedonia.

President Gligorov first stressed that Macedonia has fulfilled the dream of its ancestors, its long struggle of 120 years for its own state, and that "it will never give it up., for any reason, for whatever is offered." He also spoke about the centuries-old relations between the Croatian and Macedonian peoples, their cooperation, understanding, and mutual help. "What has been happening in history and the fact that there are no open question between us today" means that our two countries "can cooperate in all spheres unburdened by the past, which is especially important for the opportunities that exist in the near and more distant future." President Gligorov stressed that Croatia and Macedonia have opted for the European orientation, for the European Union, and that this is where they see their future. He also spoke about Macedonia's cooperation with numerous European and non-European countries "on the organization of the army, on staff training, and other issues necessary for the development of a modern army that will be compatible with the armies that were fortunate enough to be members of a joint military pact for decades."

President Gligorov especially stressed the "complementary nature of the two economies, Croatian and Macedonian, and the missed opportunities to trade (the value of trade used to just over $1 billion in the past; now it has plummeted to only slightly over $80 million), cooperate, and help each other improve the economic situation in the two countries.

President Gligorov said that he saw the future of Macedonia and Croatia and their cooperation with much confidence. He used the opportunity to congratulate President Tudjman and the Croatian Government and all other state departments "that had the courage, strength, and vision to create an army that showed that Croatia not only could defend itself, but that it could be an important military factor in this part of the world."

President Gligorov received a tumultuously ovation from the Croatian Assembly for his speech to the deputies of both chambers. In front of the assembly, he met with Vlatko Pavletic, chairman of the Croatian Assembly, who, announcing President Gligorov, said a few words about Macedonian-Croatian relations and expressed his enormous respect for the Macedonian president. President Gligorov laid flowers in Medvedgrad on "the Altar of the Croatian Fatherland," and signed the visitors' book. President Tudjman hosted a formal lunch in the Presidential Palace for President Gligorov and the Macedonian delegation. Before going to the airport, President Gligorov visited the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Zagreb, where he was greeted by the embassy staff.

Croatia: Commentary Affirms Baranja To Remain Serbian

AU1904101696 Beli Manastir Televizija Republike Srpske Krajine Television in Serbo-Croatian 1815 GMT 17 Apr 96

[Commentary by Petko Koprivica]

[FBIS Translated Text] As the establishment of the Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srijem [UNTAES]—that is, the arrival of General Klein and his administration, gets closer—a strange feeling of apprehension can be felt among the citizens. Unprofessional, even malicious interpretations that everything is over and that there is no way out of this situation only make things worse. We want to remind you that the Srijem-Baranja district, in keeping with the Erdut Agreement, is a territory belonging solely to the Serbs and members of national minorities living there.

[Begin Koprivica recording] Until the signing of the Dayton Accord, following a carefully devised pattern, world powers including the United Nations considered the Serbs the only culprit in the bloody civil war on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Monstrous fabrications were churned out daily and followed by an offensive against the Serb ethnic territory launched by formerly bitter enemies that joined forces in the offensive. Only after an enormous NATO force arrived and synchronized air strikes against Serb military installations, troops, and the people did the formet enemies and their powerful mentors achieve their satanic goal. After all that, they invited us, the Serbs, to come to the United States to the Dayton negotiating table as equal partners. The continuity of the FRY was recognized in Dayton, but the entities of the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina were dismembered for the most part. Only this district was what remained of our viable and historically justified Republic of Serb Krajina. What the so-called new world order would put neither here nor there was left for some other time. What the Dayton Accord did for the Muslim-Croat Federation—abandoning it on the stormy seas of the cunning Latini [Croats] and the fickle Muslims—the Erdut Agreement did for the Srijem-Baranja district, and it was kept alive within its framework. Stability and peace were guaranteed for the next two years. Everything else was left up to the speculations of the Croatian side. The side whose people live here will win. The cunning West gave us plenty of time to wear ourselves out. In the final analysis, the perseverance of the nation that has nowhere else to go and that will not leave its homeland shall prevail. The Serbs are that nation. The world's diplomats are aware of that. They come here and loudly offer their advice: Do not move out. We do not want another Sarajevo. Your departure would be the death of the UN policy. The United Nations guarantees the safety of people and property, as well as safety from aggression against this territory. They even collect money in the form of donations from the West, the European Union, and the United Nations.

Until now, they were doing exactly the opposite. Therefore, on the basis of earlier UN Security Council resolutions, some say today that legally speaking, this is Croatia. But a denial follows. Under the Erdut Agreement, which is stronger than current reports of the UN Security Council's resolutions, that territory belongs to the Serbs and national minorities living here. Consequently, the United Nations has authority over the district. This territory was placed under the patronage of the United Nations only because it is a specific border area that has bright prospects and invaluable strategic significance from the viewpoint of neighboring countries and major powers. To complement different interests, it was decided that this territory would not belong to anyone for a period of time—and that could last for years—only if the people remain here and if new refugees from western parts of the Republic of Serb Krajina and other Croatian areas come to the district. During that time, the West can help Croatia get up on its weak legs, get out of the dead end of nationalism and head toward democracy, to which it now subscribes only nominally. The remaining Serb lands have already linked their interests to the fast-paced development of their mother country and its reunion with economic and also political institutions of Europe and the world. [end recording]

Croatia: Serbian, Croatian Police To Receive Joint Training

LD1804163296 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1438 GMT 18 Apr 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Erdut, April 18 (TANJUG)—Spokesman for the Headquarters of the U.N. Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia [UNTAES] Douglas Kofman said on Thursday that the first two groups of 20 Serb and 20 Croatian policemen from the Srem-Baranja region left for a two-week joint training in Budapest.

He said that this was the commanding staff of the future 300-strong joint Serb-Croatian police force in the Srem-Baranja region.

The Srem-Baranja region is the only unoccupied part of the former Republic of Serb Krajina, which Serbs in Croatia set up in 1991, after Croatia forcibly seceded from the former Yugoslavia.

Under a U.N. Security Council decision, 5,000 troops from ten countries will be deployed in the Srem-Baranja region within the UNTAES mission and will monitor the implementation of the agreement and future referendums or other forms of voting about the future of the region.

In November 1995, local Serbs and Croatian authorities signed an agreement to place the region under one-year U.N. administration, with the possibility of extending this period for another year should any of the sides request it.

Kofman said that the police might be formed until late May or early June, when the region's demilitarization is expected to begin.

Croatia: Krajina Serb Administration on Economic Problems

AU1904084496 Beli Manastir Srpski Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 17 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Beli Manastir Municipal Assembly Executive Council held a session today in Beli Manastir chaired by Vasa Zigic. The municipal government discussed and debated current economic and other problems of interest to all citizens of Baranja. Mladen Glibo has more:

[Begin Glibo recording] The session noted that employees in the economic sector of the municipality worked under less than favorable conditions last year. During that period, the political and military situation engaged all able-bodied persons as well as all technical and financial resources for defense purposes. That, says Vasa Zigic, president of Executive Council of the Municipal Assembly, is the main reason for the poor financial situation. Furthermore, added Zigic, we should not forget that generally speaking, last year and this year have experienced a very restrictive monetary policy and hence modest solvency; that is, liquidity of economic assets. Concurring with the unanimously adopted view, Municipality President Slobodan Milovac talked about failures that would be discussed at the place of their origin [as heard] and said that concrete steps would be taken to resolve them. Although these problems cannot be disregarded, the prospects for economic revitalization are good and the more successful cooperation with Serbia—as well as intensive efforts of the international community and the United Nations and their representatives to resolve our economic problems—provide a modicum of optimism. According to Assembly Chairman Zigic, the international community is aware that one cannot have peace and a stable political situation—which is one of its main concerns—without a sound economy and concrete financial aid to our development programs, especially in farming and cattle breeding, which is already under discussion. [passage omitted] Commending the activities of the Union of Soldiers, the Executive Council backed their initiative suggesting that municipal institutions, in cooperation with economic resources and the labor exchange, be involved in drawing up and implementing a program to employ soldiers. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Poland: Solana Promises Decision on Admission to NATO

WS1804123996 Warsaw SZTANDAR in Polish 18 Apr 96 p 3

[Article by Wojciech Luczak: "Solana Promises Us"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Poland and the Czech Republic will be the first Central European countries to be admitted to NATO, a SZTANDAR reporter has been unofficially told. NATO Secretary General Javier Solana assured Polish Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz of this yesterday [17 April].

Solana reportedly assured Cimoszewicz during a 30-minute face-to-face conversation. This was also confirmed by our person in Brussels NATO circles.

"We trust that binding decisions will be made at the alliance summit set for December," one of the leading politicians from the Cimoszewicz Cabinet told the SZTANDAR reporter yesterday.

Solana brought to Warsaw a scenario of NATO's special assembly, scheduled for April or May 1997, during which prospective alliance members from Central Europe will be approved. Our information was confirmed by an official brief media statement made by Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz after his private meeting with Solana on Wednesday. The prime minister said that he "is very satisfied with the received promises on very important issues related to Polish-NATO relations."

Solana, as we have also unofficially learned, encouraged the Polish leadership to display more perseverance in the process of building civilian control over the Armed Forces. He also praised Poland for its significant contribution to the peacekeeping operation of the Atlantic alliance in the Balkans.

"We in NATO will never forget what Poland has done for that mission," Solana told the journalists. However, we obtained information that Poland will not send a second battalion, operating with the French units, to Bosnia, as was originally planned. The Polish Defense Ministry no longer has funds for such an undertaking, while Paris, which pledged to cover most of the operational costs to be incurred by our second battalion, has already spent the money earmarked for that purpose.

The guest from Brussels stated publicly that he was impressed by the economic development in our country. He has already made several visits to Poland, one of them as the Spanish foreign minister. Full of enthusiasm, he described the economic situation in Poland with an English word: "splendid" [preceding word published in English].

Our reporter has learned that the issue of costs connected with Poland's admission to the Atlantic alliance will not be discussed Thursday morning [18 April] during a plenary discussion Javier Solana will hold with the prime minister, the foreign and defense ministers, and a group of Polish experts. In the afternoon, the NATO secretary general will meet with President Aleksandr Kwasniewski.

Poland: Solana: Very Deep Relations To Link NATO, Russia

LD1804132496 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1231 GMT 18 Apr 97

[By Aleksandr Potemkin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] WARSAW, Apr 18 (Itar-Tass)—"We'll try to prevent Russia from isolation," said here on Thursday NATO Secretary-General Javier Solana who is now in Warsaw on an official visit.

Speaking over Polish television late on Wednesday evening, he expressed confidence that "very deep relations will link Russia and NATO" in future.

Solana claimed that there should be a way for settling a dilemma between a desire of some states to join NATO and Russia's opposition to this. "However, we have not decided as yet how to do this," he added.

At the same time, according to the secretary-general, if Russia seeks to remain "in isolation," this will be "a personal matter of Russians."

Solana refused to give an exact date for a decision on Poland's admission to the alliance, noting only that "this is very close". The secretary-general stressed again that the decision of principle on NATO expansion "has already been adopted".

The Brussels guest will hold talks and meetings with Polish politicians today and will depart for Budapest.

Poland: Kwasniewski, NATO Head Satisfied With Meeting

LD1804162396 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1359 GMT 18 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 18 Apr—Poland's entry to NATO is a realistic prospect; it still requires much effort and discussion, but I think this goal will be achieved in the not too distant future, President Aleksander Kwasniewski said after today's talks with NATO Secretary General Javier Solana.

Kwasniewski stressed that his meeting with Solana was a symbolic one and that it showed "that in politics one can cross impassable frontiers." The meeting between the two politicians took place in the same hall in which the Warsaw Treaty was signed years ago.

Poland's relations with NATO, the situation among Poland's neighbors, and the steps that can be taken to make Poland's negotiations with the pact more effective were discussed at the meeting.

Both politicians expressed satisfaction with the talks and recognized them—and Solana's entire Warsaw visit—as an important step in mutual contacts. "These contacts will be continued," Solana gave assurance. "We will work together on bringing Poland closer to NATO." "Very close," Solana replied, when asked for the date when NATO will decide to make concrete decisions.

The meeting with the president was the last engagement of the NATO secretary general's visit to Poland. From Warsaw, Solana will go to Budapest.

Poland: Prime Minister, NATO's Solana Pleased With Talks

LD1804121196 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1005 GMT 18 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The opening up of the North Atlantic pact to new countries should not mean the isolation of Russia, said the alliance's Secretary-General Javier Solana during today's meeting with Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz. Solana appraised very highly the Polish document for the discussion about our entry to the pact. Solana described the document submitted by Poland in early April as very constructive and positive.

Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz emphasized that the document, which describes the Polish vision of security and presents arguments for expanding the pact, is to form the basis of a dialogue between Poland and NATO:

[Begin Cimoszewicz recording] Secretary Solana kindly presented a very highly positive appraisal of the document. It will form the basis for individual dialogue in the coming months with Poland, just like with other applying states, which have submitted similar papers. A NATO ministerial session in December will evaluate the progress of these negotiations under the 16 Plus One formula, and further decisions will be made regarding further effects, actions, and procedures.

I can say that I regard with great appreciation and approval what the secretary-general said about his view of the political schedule of relations between Poland and NATO. [end recording]

NATO Secretary-General Javier Solana emphasized that the pact very highly appraised Poland's development, especially its economic development, as a result of which our country is beginning to play an increasingly greater role in Europe, which also leads to an increasingly greater role in security structures.

Solana emphasized that the opening up of the pact to other countries should not mean the isolation of Russia.

[Begin Solana recording in English fading to Polish translation] I conveyed to the prime minister that the expansion of NATO to new countries should under no circumstances mean the isolation of Russia. On the contrary, it should take place in parallel with a very sincere and open dialogue with Russia as a country that is highly important for European security. [end recording]

Poland: Foreign Minister Comments on Solana's Visit

LD1804124696 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1005 GMT 18 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Dariusz Rosati states that NATO Secretary General Javier Solana's visit will not answer when Poland is going to join the pact. According to Minister Rosati, Poland's foreign policy toward its eastern neighbors cannot be anti-Russian.

Rosati also said that Poland was closely watching the integration processes across our eastern border and expected them to take place in accordance with the democratic principles and not to lead to the loss of sovereignty of neighboring countries.

[Begin Rosati recording] Mr. Solana's visit to Poland is to confirm NATO's firm position on expanding NATO eastward. Next, it is to allow the secretary general to familiarize himself with each country's plans for further progress in the dialogue and discussion concerning the details of joining NATO. We expect that such decisions will be made by the end of the year or perhaps early next year. But obviously there was no expectation that anything would be decided during Solana's visit.

We are watching closely the events across the eastern border. There are trends that I would describe as integrational. We are interested first that this is taking place in accordance with the democratic procedures and second that economic integration not lead to the disappearance of sovereign and independent states. [end recording]

Minister Rosati is skeptical about Poland's becoming a member of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, OECD, this year. The organization brings together the most economically developed countries of the world.

[Begin Rosati recording] I must say that the issue is still not decided. We are making what I would call very hectic political and diplomatic efforts at this halfway point. I have to say that, in view of some still continuing differences in the perception of the rate of our liberalization, especially in respect to land turnover and capital turnover, I am not certain that the OECD countries are in the end going to issue such an invitation to Poland in the next few months. [end recording]

Poland: Lithuanian Prime Minister Arrives for Talks

LD1904103096 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] At 1000 hours today, Polish Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz met Lithuanian Prime Minister Mindaugas Stankevicius at the border checkpoint of Kalvarija-Budziska. Stankevicius started his one-day working visit to Poland. The main meeting of prime ministers will take place in Augustow, but, before that, the two government leaders went to Punsk, where a large Lithuanian community resides.

On the eve of the meeting, the Polish prime minister said he is interested in discussing the possibilities of expanding economic cooperation, specific problems and the situation on the border, border-crossing procedures, the speed of customs checkpoints' operation, and the cooperation of customs officers.

The meeting will dedicate considerable attention to the discussion on a free trade agreement. Lithuania, which is willing to sign free trade agreements with all countries of the Central European Free Trade Association, would like to finalize the draft agreement with Poland by May and sign it with no delay, BNS reported.

Poland: KPN Compiles List of Corrupt Officials

WS1804130496 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 1 Apr 96 p 7

[Article by Alina Geniusz and Monika Plinska: "KPN's List"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The names of Transportation Minister Boguslaw Liberadzki, National Defense Minister Stanislaw Dobrzanski, Labor Minister Andrzej Baczkowski, and many other politicians holding high state positions are on the list of officials violating the law, which was compiled by the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN].*

"The list was drafted by a special G-8 department that deals with combating economic crimes, as well as organized crime," said Zbigniew Konwinski, a member of the KPN Political Council. "When Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, the former justice minister, was in charge of the 'Clean Hands' campaign, in the KPN the case was handled by a very few people, and they did a better job than the prime minister—who had the police and the whole Prosecutor's Office at his disposal."

The list of accused officials was enclosed in the letter to Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz. KPN members ask the prime minister when he is going to sue these people for the collection of due payments, including the interest on them, and if these people will be dismissed because they failed to return their undue profits, which they obtained in violation of the law.

Konwinski has also announced that, in the months to come, the KPN will reveal other sensational news on this matter. It depends, however, on how the situation develops in Poland. The KPN also intends to disclose documents on law violations by high-ranking state officials.

"What moral right to initiate such an action do the 'guardians of morality' from the KPN have?" asked Minister Aleksandra Jakubowska. "They have fallen into arrears with enormous debts owed to the State Treasury for having led the RAZEM weekly to bankruptcy."

The spokeswoman also added that the KPN is not paying rent for the building in downtown Warsaw, subletting the rooms in the building for "very high sums of money."

"We are renting office space on Nowy Swiat in Warsaw," Leszek Moczulski, the KPN chairman, told DZIENNIK. "Until now, we have been paying the rent on a regular basis. We have run into debt lately. It is commonly known, however, that the Social Democratic Party is also indebted. Political parties are poor, and not everyone has inherited a seat."

According to the spokeswoman, the fact that a deputy prime minister—Miroslaw Pietrewicz, head of the Central Planning Administration [CUP]—as one of the persons receiving extra pay by virtue of his sitting on the supervisory council of PLL Lot [Polish Airlines] has been put on the list, proves that the KPN initiative is unreliable. Meanwhile, his name appears on the so-called Cimoszewicz list announced in the framework of the "Clean Hands" campaign on 26 October 1994, with an annotation that Pietrewicz never took the unearned money.

Let us recall: In August 1994, on a KPN motion, Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz committed himself to presenting the cases of violating the Law on Anticorruption by state officials to the Sejm. On 26 October 1994, Mr. Cimoszewicz made public three lists with the names of 69 officials, who, at that time or earlier, held high-ranking state positions. The first list comprised those who worked in State Treasury companies, despite the fact that they were not assigned to work there, and also included those who, clearly against the law, sat on private companies. A great number of them were specialists and ministerial advisers.

The second list, which aroused the most controversy, was made up of those officials, who, apart from their salary for work in the government, took money for sitting on supervisory councils of commercial law companies. The controversy had to be settled by a Constitutional Tribunal [TK] ruling. The list included, among others: former Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrzej Olechowski, now head of the "100 Movement"; the former under secretaries at the Ministry of Finance Witold Modzelewski and Elzbieta Chojna-Duch (she resigned after a series of articles in GAZETA WYBORCZA about her not having paid the income tax on renting an apartment); the former and present under secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation, Maciej Lesny (the prosecutor's office charges him with "involuntary negligence of official duties" in 1990, from which the State Treasury suffered losses amounting to 126 billion zlotys—the case is closely related to the so-called ruble scandal); Zbigniew Wojciech Okonski, under secretary of the same sector and the future minister of national defense [MON]; Andrzej Baczkowski, under secretary and now minister of labor; the former and current minister of transportation, Boguslaw Liberadzki; the former head of CUP and now Deputy Prime Minister Miroslaw Pietrewicz;, and many others.

The third list included officials, who, at that time, did not perform any functions in the government and, similarly to the persons on the second list, collected unearned salaries.

The only person who submitted his resignation, and in a most spectacular manner to boot, was Andrzej Olechowski. He stated that he was forced to resign because the prosecutor general, with the knowledge of the prime minister (Waldemar Pawlak), questioned his honesty and expressed his conviction that Mr. Cimoszewicz's interpretation of the rules was erroneous.

"If this is the case," responded Cimoszewicz, "I will submit my resignation."

In January 1995, the TK handed down a Solomon ruling: acknowledging that Mr. Cimoszewicz was right in principle, it ruled that the officials did not have the right to accept double payments. Thus, they had violated the law, yet they did this in good faith because they were unaware that they were violating the law. After the verdict, Mr. Cimoszewicz said that the officials who found themselves on his list should pay back the unlawfully taken money. He called the suggestion that he resign ridiculous. He was right—after all, the mentioned officials had broken the law.

[Former] President Lech Walesa criticized the whole action as inefficient, saying: "It was supposed to be 'Clean Hands' and it is 'empty hands.' The case has not been explained or brought to completion."

Lech Kaczynski, the former chairman of the Supreme Board of Control [NIK], was also unhappy about the action and warned that the action would be continued in a professional way. Shortly after a new law on NIK was passed, Kaczynski was removed from his position by a Sejm decision.

The KPN register includes 31 names of present officials, of whom only four have not found their way to the Cimoszewicz list. They are: Under Secretary of MON Miroslaw Wozniakowski; Andrzej Bialkowski, general director of the same sector; Jacek Buchacz, minister of foreign economic cooperation; and an under secretary of state at the Ministry of Health, Izabella Dudzin. The KPN does not mention the dignitaries who have left the government.

It is not known if the notorious heroes of the "Clean Hands" action, at present high-ranking state officials in Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz's government, have paid back the money to the State Treasury. It is known that some of them have been made to resign from their posts, and others left the government together with Waldemar Pawlak. Still others stayed in their posts, were promoted, or found new positions in other sectors.

Government Press Spokeswoman Aleksandra Jakubowska has said that all members of the present government have been screened by the appropriate services and that, from a legal point of view, there are no objections whatsoever to them.

Poland: Daily on Officers Studying at Foreign Schools

WS1804112096 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 Apr 96 p 2

[Article by Z.L.: "A Polish General in Washington"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Brigadier General Henryk Tacik, 48, who has so far been the chief of the Engineer Forces Command Headquarters in the General Staff, is the first Polish general to pursue operational-strategic studies at the National Defense University in Washington. This prestigious, highest-level military academy in the United States provides military education for high-ranking commanders; there is practically not a single general in the U.S. Armed Forces who has not taken a course at it. The only invitation for a Polish general was personally handed to General Tadeusz Wilecki, chief of the General Staff, by General John Shalikashvili, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. Armed Forces.

"An exchange of experiences, particularly in the field of strategic planning, will be the most important," we were told by Gen. Tacik, who in 1988 graduated from the Voroshilovka in Moscow. (It no longer bears the name of its historical patron and is now called the Academy of the General Staff of the Russian Federation's Armed Forces).

As we found out from the Cadres Department of the National Defense Ministry, there are currently 123 career soldiers and Armed Forces' employees acquiring an education abroad; seven are studying in Russia (two of them are continuing their command-and-staff studies in the famous Russian school for generals, which prepares officers for holding posts at the highest command echelons). "Military skills and expertise should be acquired from the best in this field; it is particularly advisable to be familiar with military skills and methods used by our neighbors," Gen. Tacik says, stressing that the education that Polish officers acquired in Moscow was certainly not worthless. "We focused on skills," he adds [passage omitted]

Romania: Iliescu, Turkish President Praise Bilateral Ties

AU1904080996 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 18 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The exemplary relations established between Romania and Turkey in recent years have reached a new peak: the meeting of Presidents Ion Iliescu and Suleyman Demirel. Bilateral cooperation, cooperation in the Black Sea basin, and the implementation of the idea that appeared recently during President Iliescu's tour of Caucasus countries, namely to connect Central Asia—by what he called the road of oil and by means of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation—to Central and East Europe, but also to the Middle East—these were the issued broached during today's talks. The aforementioned economic axis could become strategically important. At the press conference jointly held by Presidents Iliescu and Demirel, the two heads of state made the following statements:

[Begin Iliescu recording] I would like to begin by appraising the Turkish president's current visit in Romania. We believe that these meetings of the heads of our two states, which have already become traditional, are of exceptional value. These meeting have practically become tradition, and so the two presidents meet twice each year, once in Turkey and once in Romania, to review the issues of bilateral relations and our cooperation in this region, as well as on the international plane.

First we broached the issues of our bilateral ties. We found that they have constantly developed on all planes, and we consider it beneficial to hold bilateral consultations both in diplomacy, between the two foreign ministries, as well as in other fields of mutual interest or in connection with the region we belong to. We found that our bilateral economic relations have developed well. We discussed the prospects for such relations in the Black Sea, we discussed the extension of the ferryboat line from Samsun [Turkey] to the port of Poti [Georgia] in view of furthering our relations with the Caucasian countries, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia, as well as with Central Asia, as that is a region that is very rich in oil and natural gas deposits. In this way Romanian-Turkish relations would become a bridge linking us with a large geographical region of high interest. We can become a constant bridge linking Europe, the Middle East, and Central Asia.

Furthermore, we exchanged views about various issues related to the Balkan region, considering the similarity in the way both Romania and Turkey view these issues, and we appreciated the favorable new circumstances that emerged following the Dayton accord and the cessation of the hostilities in the Yugoslav area.

We also emphasized as important the upcoming Bucharest conference of businessmen belonging to the economic circles of the countries adjacent to the Black Sea, which for the first time will be attended by representatives of all the countries in the Yugoslav area. [end recording]

[Begin recording of Demirel speaking in Turkish with passage-by-passage Romanian translation; translated from the Romanian] President Iliescu, the president of a country that is one of Turkey's neighbors and friends, has invited us to Romania, and here we are visiting. Despite the fact that it was a short, one-day visit, we came to Romania with a sizable delegation that includes businessmen, scientists, and journalists. I would like to say that we were very impressed both by the interest shown in us by President Iliescu and the representatives of the Romanian Government and people, and by the exceptional hospitality that surrounded us.

The bilateral ties between Turkey and Romania are exceptionally good and they are continuously developing. We have set ourselves the goal of making our commercial exchanges reach a level of $1 billion. We have nearly attained $600 million. Our activity within the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Zone is very good. The purpose of the economic cooperation in the Black Sea region is to turn the Black Sea into a sea of peace and, despite certain difficulties, there are certain extremely positive developments.

Regarding the maintenance of peace and stability in the Balkans, both Turkey and Romania know very well the responsibilities that fall to them. [end recording]

Romania: Tinca, Germany's Ruehe Assess Integration Efforts

AU1804172896 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 13 Apr 96 p 3

[Report by Monica Szlavik on statements by German Defense Minister Volker Ruehe and Romanian Defense Minster Gheorghe Tinca: "Volker Ruehe: Romania's Policy Is Clear, Calculated, and Unequivocal on European and Euro-Atlantic Integration"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "After the talks with the German defense minister I felt encouraged over relations between our armies. I noticed that Germany understands exactly the situation in Central and southern Europe. I noted with satisfaction the statements made by the minister to the effect that Germany, in order not to import insecurity, must assist and contribute to the consolidation of security in the central and southern part of Europe (...). He appreciated the efforts made by the Romanian Army to develop excellent military relations between the Hungarian and Romanian Armies. I understand that Budapest is showing the same interest in expanding these relations. I tried to offer my counterpart the possibility to perceive correctly what Romania means. I hope that as a result of our talks with representatives of the German community in Romania he better understands the realities prevailing in our country," said Defense Minister Gheorghe Tinca, on 12 April in Sibiu, where he accompanied his German counterpart Volker Ruehe in a visit to the Palace of the Evangelical Church Bishop in Romania and to the Brukenthal High School in Sibiu.

In turn, Volker Ruehe said: "Our cooperation is on the right path and is unfolding at a rapid pace. Romania's policy is clear, calculated, and unequivocal on integration in European and Euro-Atlantic structures. For Germany, Romania is an important partner as far as stability in Europe is concerned. For us, your country plays an important role in central Europe. President Iliescu's remark that in achieving the treaty of good neighborliness with Hungary the German-French treaty should be considered the model is a compliment for France and Germany. In Sibiu I felt that this progress toward Europe will be of assistance to the Germans who live in this town in Romania."

Regarding efforts by the Romanian Army to enter NATO, the German minister said: "No greater effort can be made than those that have been made so far, considering the reduced financial resources. Romania has made enormous effort at a steady pace. This is surprising."

Volker Ruehe also said: "We support Romanian integration into the European Union and NATO, but integration is a historical process that will start and then will continue. It is unrealistic to believe that all 12 countries that wish to join will enter NATO at once. First it is necessary for us to get closer."

Romania: Local Election Campaign Officially Opens

AU1904115796 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The electoral campaign for the local elections scheduled for 2 June was officially launched today throughout the country. [passage omitted]

Romania: UDMR Spokesman Adam Katona Interviewed

96CH0071A Budapest DEMOKRATA in Hungarian 22 Feb 96 pp 34-37

[Interview with Adam Katona, UDMR platform spokesman at the Transylvanian Hungarian Initiative, by Krisztina Szentimrei; place and date not given: "Equal Chances for the Hungarian People"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"Defeating the opponent is the main goal whenever political opponents face each other. One wonders, did Masaryk or Benes have feelings that were different from those harbored by Bratianu or Maniu? Surrendering something in exchange for promises amounts to machiavellian trickery in politics. The Budapest cabinet would commit a historic crime against the Hungarian people if, in the near future, it consummates a basic agreement with the Romanian Government, as long as that government pursues its present policies," Adam Katona, RMDSZ [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania—UDMR in Romanian] platform spokesman at the Transylvanian Hungarian Initiative told this newspaper. Last year Katona went on a 42-day hunger strike.*

[Katona] On the first day of my hunger strike I handed my demands to RMDSZ chairman Bela Marko and to the press; the latter published my demands. I indicated that it was my intention to call attention to the unfortunate apathy that has pervaded the Hungarian people of Romania, moreover, the entire Hungarian nation. I also wanted to protest the education law and named two specific issues to which I also called President Iliescu's attention in an open letter. One of these was the attack on contiguous blocks of Hungarian population, notably the changing of the ethnic composition of Szekler [subgroup of the Hungarian minority in Romania] land by bringing new settlers to the area. The other issue pertained to the pardoning of seven men from Zetelak [Zetea]. Due to Mr. Iliescu's recent conciliatory statements which evoked great response, I regard this matter as having symbolic value. We should rectify and normalize the lives of the seven young men, each of whom were sentenced to five years in prison by the Romanian administration of justice on grounds of the 22 December 1989 events in Zetelak. On that day these men set fire to the police files, damaged the building and burned weapons, i.e., they performed revolutionary acts which clearly fall under Iliescu's 4 January public amnesty decree. That decree covered all kinds of violent revolutionary acts, including murder. This is why the murderers of policemen in Cugir were not brought to trial; in that case Romanians from Kudzsir [Cugir] subjected policemen and Securitate men to inhuman torture. Accordingly, from an ethnic point of view, the discriminatory intent and practice of Romanian justice administration is obvious.

[Szentimrei] Did you accomplish your goal with this uncommon undertaking?

[Katona] It seems that I did, insofar as the administration of justice is concerned. Although Iliescu did not respond to my letter, the Transylvania Association of the World Federation of Hungarians received a letter from the office of the president, stating that the minister of justice was examining the matter to which Adam Katona called their attention. And I believe that the president is going to pardon the seven individuals, if for no other reason than the fact that thanks to our western friends, my letter was also forwarded to the UN, to diplomats accredited to Geneva, ambassadors, the European Union, and a host of human rights organizations. Let me add here that this does not involve a Romanian-Hungarian conflict, because the newspaper entitled "22" published the text of my letter in the Romanian language even before it was published in Budapest. This is extremely important, because it shows that this action was not an extremist action perpetrated by blinded, perhaps feeble-minded people who had lost their common sense, the way some would like to make it appear, but that at issue is the fact that human rights are being tread underfoot in Romania, and that human rights must be enforced. The Hungarian people of Transylvania must be given equal chances, and real, not only declared, equality under the law. The same applies to education: If a school can be established somewhere for a Romanian child, the same should also apply to a Tatar or a Hungarian child. I believe that this action also produced some political results. Incidentally, my person is not important, nor is the fact that someone is fasting....

[Szentimrei] ...or dying perhaps....

[Katona] ...or starves to death as a result. Not for a moment do I wish to present myself as a hero. I did something which I thought had to be done in memory of the revolution, between 23 October and 4 November. What has an incredibly great significance, however, is the bankruptcy, the moral and political crisis that prevails within the RMDSZ. I had to starve myself for almost an entire month before the dual group of RMDSZ legislators read the Senate and House of Representatives records on the request to pardon the seven emigrants, for the benefit of the aforementioned seven unfortunate families. This, in spite of the fact that the legislators were very well aware of this issue, because I have mentioned it to them on several occasions last year.

[Szentimrei] It seems that the time it takes for the RMDSZ to react, so to speak, depends on the event to which it has to react. The RMDSZ seems to react more slowly when it receives positive initiatives from RMDSZ groups which vocally represent Hungarian interest, than when it finds some kind of pretext to pounce on the same groups for some manifestation that might be misinterpreted. I have in mind specifically Bela Marko, who was reluctant in those days to distance himself from Benedek Nagy's rag that defamed Laszlo Tokes, but who, in this instance, was able to draft a circular in a matter of moments, calling on people to distance themselves from your cause.

[Katona] It appears that the RMDSZ clock is dead, it has stopped to tick, and this, in turn, is the most shining proof of moral and political bankruptcy. And then there is the other matter I do not even like to discuss. It pertains to an outstanding poet who is unable to interpret a very simple text, even though previously he published a volume analyzing poetic texts, texts produced by Ceausescu. This is truly bewildering. I hope that this was caused by fatigue only. Namely, I stated two things relative to an extremely distasteful provocation aimed at me, presented on the pages of a Kolozsvar [Cluj-Napoca] newspaper at the beginning of my hunger strike. By calling me a renegade, they disgraced the memory of my father who had suffered so much for the Hungarian people before he died in 1972. Such filth has not been written under RMDSZ colors since Benedek Nagy, and to top it off, the writer was the head of the Social Democratic Platform. Well, I responded with an article disputing these statements, expressing my view that a political resume was needed based on an earlier decision of the national board. At an expanded meeting held in Brasso [Brasov] four years ago we decided that every leader should prepare a political resume, which should include each person's relationship with the RKP [Romanian Communist Party]. This should be part of the resume; it should be clear that [by submitting such resumes,] these persons remove this burden from their shoulders as a matter of repentance. One should not belabor the issue of who was the party secretary, agent or political confidant of Gyozo Hajdu. This is not the basic issue, nevertheless, this, too, should be included. What a person professed, what he agreed to do, and what he actually did are also part of a person's past. The other matter I stated in the article I wrote in response—for which I now have come under crossfire—is that anyone who speaks Romanian with his family members should not be permitted to become an RMDSZ leader, because the use of the Romanian language within a family evidences an advanced stage of assimilation. To restate this in more specific terms: Hungarians who have become assimilated Romanians should not hold leadership positions in the RMDSZ.

[Szentimrei] Could this be made a formal part of the rules?

[Katona] I have no doubt about the popular response, should the populace be asked to express its views about this matter. There still exists a natural immune reaction, because it is not worth our while to engage in political discourse, there no longer are Hungarians in Romania if that immune reaction no longer exists.

[Szentimrei] Are you then saying that the children of certain RMDSZ leaders are frequenting Romanian schools, and that these matters are not publicly known?

[Katona] Frequenting Romanian schools is not the primary thing I regard as a terrible thing. Terrifying is the way in which people's feelings, their way of thinking becomes assimilated. A person has become assimilated if he chooses a Romanian spouse, speaks the Romanian language with his family members, and enrolls his child in a Romanian school. I am interested in the final outcome, not in the various phases of assimilation. A person could marry a Romanian woman—I am aware of a case like this—and the children could become bilingual, and the Hungarian spouse could remain 100 percent Hungarian, and would not become assimilated. I am not objecting to mixed marriages to the extent Mr. Zoltai, the head of the Jewish organization in Budapest does; he clearly stated in No. 16. HETI VILAGGAZDASAG that he is fighting mixed marriages because these are a form of assimilation. I am not that radical. Love has immense power, it can overcome everything.

Accordingly, mixed marriages are not at issue; at issue are the consequences of mixed marriages, insofar as certain weak characters are involved. I believe that a person who speaks only in the Romanian language to his or her spouse, and who does not teach his children the Hungarian language, has a weak character. I maintain that this is a moral and political issue, and I do not believe that any sober mind would question this anywhere in the world. In this case we are not dealing with equality among citizens, but with fundamental expectations from leaders of an ethnic interest group. I do not want to impinge upon anyone's rights as a citizen by declaring that he should not be a leader, because being a leader is not a civil right. This is an internal affair of a given organization or an ethnic group, in other words, this has nothing to do with democracy. The name of the organization at issue also states this: Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania. I will present to the Ethics Committee statements and misinterpretations that were even more distressing than those of Mr. Marko: statements which declared me to be a fascist and a racist.

[Szentimrei] Could we assume that Bela Marko was only tired and that is why he misread the text, or could we say that he found a pretext to link you to some extreme right-wing ideals, and to then ban you from the RMDSZ while voicing the slogans of democratic populism?

[Katona] Judging the depth of the human soul is a very questionable undertaking. I cannot judge Mr. Marko's intentions; if this is what motivated him, it speaks for itself. I do not recognize the question in the question. Because if he did not err, but instead we find that he was dishonest—let us put it this way, then we must also find that he is not fit to serve as chairman of the RMDSZ. He must provide appropriate moral compensation. To err is human. Actually, to explain the text, I was questioning the fitness of leading RMDSZ personalities who removed themselves from the Hungarian people, Hungarians who turned into non-Hungarians. Specifically those who became Romanianized, because in this text I made reference to the fact that there is a lesser danger if a Hungarian happens to become Irish, and then wants to become an RMDSZ leader, because Irish society does not have a corrupting impact in Bucharest on personalities who changed their ethnicity this way. Romanian society does exert such a corrupting effect. This is one side of the issue. In countering my statement, Mr. Marko mentions Petofi, who, according to my knowledge of literary history, was of Slovak and South-Slavic origin. He became Petofi by changing his name from Petrovics, and not in the reverse. No sound mind could question the Hungarian character of Petofi. And this is not what this song is about. I am talking about ladies and gentlemen who travel exactly the opposite path, those who surrender their Hungarian character, occupy certain well-paying positions at the RMDSZ in order to make money or establish connections, while in their families, in their private lives they do not act consistent with their Hungarian character even at the most elementary level. What kind of commitment, what kind of consistency can such people manifest in representing Hungarian political interests in an anti-Hungarian milieu?

[Szentimrei] Aside from all this, news linking you to the Securitate has been floating around in conservative or seemingly conservative circles.

[Katona] Kalman Kelemen, the previous executive secretary of the RMKDP [Hungarian Christian Democratic Party of Romania] wrote about my [alleged] Securitate agent past in an informational bulletin distributed to his organizations. He cited a lady by the name of Dora Debreceni who went into a rage upon hearing my name, claiming that I have been, and continue to be an agent of the Securitate. I do not know Dora Debreceni, but our mutual friends contacted her, and she responded in amazement, because she never made such a statement. The accusation of having been a Securitate agent is so slanderous that I cannot dismiss it by shrugging my shoulder, as I do in response to all kinds of minor mudslinging by both the Hungarian press in Romania, and the Romanian press of Romania. This accusation is not such an innocent matter. The opposite is true: The Securitate has classified me as a public enemy beginning in August or September 1970, and treated me accordingly.

[Szentimrei] Would you not say that here we see the result of a peculiar process, in which the beneficiaries, if not collaborators, of the previous regime attempt to make victims of the Securitate appear as collaborators?

[Katona] Precisely. But this issue also has another side: Senator Karoly Szabo signed and accepted without any change or denial the 1994 report of the Romanian Intelligence Service, which states that I am a public enemy of the state, a separatist opposed to the constitution, and a Hungarian extremists who wants autonomy.

[Szentimrei] Karoly Szabo defends himself by saying that publication of this document was contingent on affixing his signature, and thus, by signing the document, he essentially advanced the denial.

[Katona] He also claimed other things, among others that he had discussed this matter in advance with the upper management of the RMDSZ. In that case, however, the "investigation" should have been expanded, because neither Eva Barki, nor Jozsef Csapo, nor our platform in its entirety—all of us were mentioned in this report—nor I have approved of this experiment, even though we were the ones at risk in this game, not Senator Szabo. The other thing: When the leadership handed to me the Romanian Intelligence Service report at the Marosvasarhely [Tirgu Mures] meeting of the foreign advisory board, they did not say a single word that would have indicated that the 25 of them present at the meeting had given their advance approval, moreover, Mr. Marko—I stayed at his residence—while traveling in his car to Kolozsvar the next day, did not make a single comment expressing his approval of releasing this report to the public. Instead, he made a statement concerning an entirely different matter. Accordingly, something very odd is taking place. On the one hand, certain RMDSZ leaders, Mr. Karoly Szabo, approve of publicity to the effect that I am the public enemy, and that people should stay away from such extremists. On the other hand, another accusation emerges, according to which I was an agent of the Securitate, and this is happening when a pseudoscandal is being perpetrated.

[Szentimrei] Are you referring to the fact that the traditional method of accusing people with financial abuse is being reintroduced?

[Katona] Yes, the same people publish in the Hungarian press of Romania the confidential financial documents of the Illyes Foundation prepared for the National Board, while the correspondence of the Illyes Foundation is usually not made public. The matter related to the Illyes Foundation is obviously progressing on its own path, the financial accounting is being settled, nevertheless the whole thing has created an adverse feeling in the people. A notion that some financial abuse has occurred, that something has not been in order is hanging in the air, even though none of this is true.

[Szentimrei] Reverting to a topic we discussed at the beginning of our conversation: As we all know, President Iliescu came up with a Romanian-Hungarian reconciliation package plan. Certain Hungarian politicians do not dare to question Iliescu's good faith behind the plan. How should we view the Hungarian Government's position, according to which a basic agreement can, indeed, be consummated?

[Katona] Insofar as Mr. Iliescu's good faith is concerned, this is precisely the issue I raised in the open letter addressed to him: Good faith should be proven, let him go ahead, let him apply one of the decrees he himself has promulgated. Mr. Iliescu would have had an outstanding opportunity to prove his good faith by rejecting the education law in its present form. After all, he extended his right hand offering peace almost at the same time when he signed the law with his left hand. Agreements, not statements are important in politics. Quite obviously, if the Romanian Government returns to the position it held until 7 January 1990—the day when Iliescu declared without any foundation that separatists also existed in Szekler land—why should not there be a basic agreement; we are not against having an agreement, having a good agreement would not hurt, but before having an agreement we must have something to agree about. The basic agreement must be the closing step of a process of cooperation.

[Szentimrei] As can be verified among other things by specific examples you mentioned, President Iliescu is pursuing the traditional Romanian policy of impressing the West. But what should we say about the Hungarian Government, the government that was incapable of coming to conclusions even on the basis of the basic agreement with Slovakia? Why would the present Hungarian cabinet want to consummate this basic agreement?

[Katona] I would supplement your statement by saying that the Hungarian-Ukrainian basic agreement produced the same consequence. Representatives of organizations in the Lower Carpathian region, which do not maintain mutual friendly relations, tried to prove that the basic agreement amounted to a tragedy from their points of view. Accordingly, at issue is not only the fact that I, as a person committed to nationalist and Christian ideals, do not share the ideology and ideals of the present Hungarian Government, but also the fact that the experience of the recent past could be put to use. The Hungarian-Ukrainian and the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaties clearly disadvantaged the Hungarian national communities in their respective regions. This is why I do not find Mr. Labody's statement too painful, namely that the Hungarian-Romanian basic agreement is the business of the Hungarian and Romanian Governments, and not of the RMDSZ. Promises have little value not only in Romanian politics, but in the politics of every country. This is so because in politics friends, opponents, or something between these two extremes face each other. And if opponents face each other, as that very frequently occurs among neighbors, the obvious main goal is to defeat the opponent. One wonders, did Masaryk or Benes have feelings that were different from those harbored by Bratianu or Maniu? Surrendering something in exchange for promises is not serious business, it amounts to machiavellian trickery in politics. The Budapest cabinet would commit a historic crime against the Hungarian people if, in the near future, it consummated a basic agreement with the Romanian Government, as long as that government pursues its present policies. Or, we could mention Kadar's historic crime: On Epiphany day 1957 he declared in Marosvasarhely that the future of Hungarians in Romania hinges on the future of socialism in Romania, i.e., he surrendered us, and as a result of this statement they discontinued the university. All this could make the socialist politicians ponder, and they could discover that they are following very bad traditions.

[Szentimrei] Are we witnessing the continued life of a negative tradition, or the conscious surrender of national interests?

[Katona] We are witnessing bad habits, insufficient national consciousness. A citizen of a great power can be a cosmopolitan, there is nothing to it. Not everyone has to be of the same color. I am a liberal in this regard. But once we surrender our ancient territories in the Carpathian basin, once responsible government officials, such as Erika Torzsok in MAGYAR HIRLAP, declare that demands for regional autonomy are just as unwarranted and unacceptable to Europeans as the ideal of a nation state simply because these presume homogeneity, then I am forced to say that this is an abnormal phenomenon. Or we are dealing with a degree of ignorance that cannot be understood by the sober mind. In Szekler land, for instance, we are not witnessing the establishment of homogeneity, we do not want to artificially formulate an enclave. To the contrary: a given situation exists, in which Hungarian people have been living as population blocks for centuries. It would be foolish to cast doubt on the existence of Hungarians living in the form of population blocks, while artificially terminating the Hungarian character would be an act prohibited by international law. I am aware of several international agreements also signed by Romania, which prohibit the diluting of the ethnicity of any area by bringing in settlers. We are dealing with deficient national consciousness, and it does not hurt Erika Torzsok that Szekler land is not going to be Hungarian. This is clear talk. It makes no difference who we are talking about, whether its Gyula Horn or anyone else; in this regard neither the persons, nor the political parties are of interest, of concern are attitudes. And this deficient national consciousness is not suited for the pursuit of national policies, just as persons with deficient identities, who have become assimilated Romanians are not suited to appropriately represent our interests in RMDSZ.

[Szentimrei] What can the RMDSZ do if the ruling elite with deficient Hungarian consciousness in the homeland places the fate of the minority in Romania on a forced track as a result of a badly concluded basic agreement?

[Katona] The impending threat is that persons with deficient identity occupying leading political positions in Hungary will find allies in the RMDSZ ranks among leaders having a similar character. These persons make statements, act, take steps and commit crimes on behalf of the nation. Not for the first time, but, we hope, for the last time.

[Box, p 37]

Lexicon

Adam Katona is a literary and cultural historian, and a writer. Born in Dicsoszentmarton [Tirnaveni] 12 October 1935, Katona matriculated in Szekelyudvarhely [Odorheiu Secuiesc] in 1954. He served as a substitute teacher in the villages surrounding Szekelyudvarhely, and as the director of a cultural center between 1954 and 1958. He received a Hungarian literature teacher's diploma at Babes-Bolyai University in 1968. Between 1968 and 1970 he worked at the editorial offices of IGAZSAG, and later at the Szekelyudvarhely Museum. Since 1982 he has been an elementary school teacher.

Slovenia: EU Commissioner, Thaler Discuss EU, Italy

AU1804205796 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2000 GMT 18 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Thaler briefed EU Commissioner van den Broek about the State Chamber platform and conclusions on the relations with the European Union, Italy, and NATO in Strasbourg today. Over the phone, he also discussed those issues with British Foreign Secretary Rifkind, who voiced the belief that there were no longer any reason to postpone the signing of the associate membership agreement. Edo Zitnik has a brief report on Thaler's talks with the EU commissioner:

[Begin recording] Ljubljana is aware that the conclusions of the Slovene Parliament are the most that Slovenia can offer to Italy at the moment. The only thing left to do prior to the final reply from Rome is to try to influence Italy's partners in the EU. Slovenia should inform them about the conclusions of the parliament in great detail and hopefully gain their political support after some behind-the-scenes pressure has been placed on Rome.

One should not underestimate the political pressure of Italy's partners on Rome; moreover, we should not forget that for the EU countries, Slovenia is still of considerably lesser political importance than its member Italy.

This is what EU Commissioner van den Broek, who is probably more favorably disposed toward Slovenia than the majority of the EU members, hinted after today's meeting with Minister Thaler. The commissioner voiced satisfaction with the conclusions of the Slovene parliament. He reiterated the commission's desire that Slovenia should sign the associate membership agreement as soon as possible. He clearly indicated, however, that the final answer lies with Rome. [end recording]

Slovenia: Legislature Deadlocked Over Real Estate Issue

AU1804160696 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 18 Apr 96

[Report by Janko Saradjen on the State Chamber session in Ljubljana on 18 April—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The hall of the Slovene legislature has been more or less empty since 1100 [0900 GMT] onward, as the opposition deputies with planned lack of a quorum would not allow a vote to proceed on the law on property and other actual rights. On the other hand, the ruling coalition prevented three attempts—that is, opposition proposals—to postpone the debate on the law until the next session in May, which would facilitate debate on other points on the agenda. The opposition also demanded that together with the property legislation—the most controversial part of which is Chapter Seven on foreigners' rights—we also prepare protective legislation that would restrict these rights. The legislature is, thus, deadlocked.

When we asked the representatives of the ruling coalition why they would not postpone discussion of this law to the next session, they said that Europe, following the passing of the Spanish compromise proposal, expects some sort of move that would put this agreement into operation. [passage omitted]

Federal

FRY: Milosevic, Belgium's Derycke View Relations

LD1804200296 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1620 GMT 18 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, April 18 (TANJUG)—Talks in Belgrade on Thursday between Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Belgian Foreign Minister Eric de Rycke focused on topical issues in the upgrading of the Yugoslav-Belgian relations and political situation in the region.

The Serbian presidential office's statement said that a mutual interest in reviving comprehensive ties and cooperation between Yugoslavia and Belgium had been voiced in the talks. The statement said that the importance of consolidating peace and creating stability in the Balkans, to which Yugoslavia has been making a constant contribution, was stressed during the talks.

For this reason, Yugoslavia's active and equal participation in international relations is in the interest of consolidating peace and developing understanding and confidence between states and peoples who can and should use political means to resolve outstanding issues in mutual relations, the statement said.

The statement also noted that Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic participated in the talks.

FRY: Kontic, Belgium's Derycke Discuss Renewed Ties

AU1804143696 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic today received Belgian Foreign Minister Eric Derijke. During their talks, which were also attended by FRY Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic, the federal prime minister and the Belgian foreign minister welcomed with pleasure the decision on the reestablishment of diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level. They also expressed their readiness for comprehensive bilateral cooperation.

Stressing the importance of the Belgian foreign minister's visit, the federal prime minister stressed the need for the fastest possible normalization of relations between the FRY and the EU; that is, the return of the FRY to the international community.

The eminent guest from Belgium stressed the FRY's contribution to the establishment of peace in this region, emphasizing its importance for the promotion of further cooperation and strengthening of stability in the Balkans.

During their talks, the federal prime minister and the Belgian foreign minister stressed the need for a speedy return of the FRY into international institutions; that is, the financial and trade organizations, which is the basic precondition for improving bilateral cooperation, especially economic relations between the two countries.

In his talks with Belgian Foreign Minister Eric Derijke, Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic paid special tribute to Belgium for its contribution so far in maintaining peace in eastern Slavonia.

FRY: Official Details Protocol on Missing Persons

AU1804152596 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Apr 96

[Report by Radovan Pantovic]

[FBIS Translated Text] The protocol of cooperation signed by the Federal Government's Commission for Humanitarian Issues and Missing Persons and the corresponding commission of the Croatian Government envisages the release of all prisoners of war. This was stated by Pavle Todorovic, head of the Yugoslav commission, at a news conference. Radovan Pantovic has the details:

[Pantovic] According to the protocol that was signed yesterday, the release of some prisoners can be expected next week, said Pavle Todorovic, head of the federal government's Commission for Humanitarian Issues and Missing Persons. The protocol envisages that both sides exchange information on the captured, arrested, and missing persons, as well as those who were killed during the conflicts throughout the territory of the previous Yugoslavia. Pavle Todorovic stressed the following as particularly important:

[Begin Todorovic recording] The two sides have agreed to release without delay all prisoners of war, to release all soldiers, officers, and civilians who are being held in connection with the conflict on the whole territory of the former Yugoslavia, including those from their own territory and all the territories that are under the influence of the two sides, and hand [words indistinct] to the other side. [end recording]

[Pantovic] This will not apply only to those suspected or accused of war crimes. As Yugoslavia does not have prisoners of war, we have taken it upon ourselves to influence the commissions of the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina to accept the provisions of the protocol.

Maksim Korac, head of the Federal Government's expert team, stressed that the Yugoslav side demands information on 905 missing persons, including 61 persons held in Croatian prisons. The Croatian side is also being asked to provide information about, or the remains of, 120 dead Yugoslavs. They were given a list of 2,561 missing and 465 imprisoned persons, which was based on information supplied by the International Red Cross. They were also asked to release those captured during the Croatian operations of Oluja and Bljesak [Storm and Flash].

Members of our delegation expect the Republic of Croatia to act in the spirit of the Dayton Agreement and to meet all the demands stipulated by the provisions of the protocol that has just been signed.

FRY: Refugee Official on Coming Refugee Census

LD1904123596 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1159 GMT 19 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, April 19 (TANJUG)—After the upcoming census of refugees in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) it will be decided who will return to his home and who will remain, Serbian Commissioner for Refugees Bratislava Morina told TANJUG on Friday.

The census, which began on April 15 and will last through May 31, will finally establish the exact number of those who had fled former Yugoslav republics to the FRY, estimated at more than 700,000, Morina said.

Morina stated that the census would establish how many refugees and expelled want return, or how many want to stay in the FRY, their age, family and health, which will help in the search for a lasting solution for these people, Morina said.

Morina set out that the data from the forms would be fed into computer data bases of both the Yugoslav commissariat and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

'In any case, on the basis of the census, the status of all refugees and expelled persons will be better defined than it has been so far,' Morina said.

FRY: Bank Governor Denies Assembly Can Dismiss Him

LD1804182596 Belgrade FONET in Serbo-Croatian 1501 GMT 18 Apr 96

[Received by fax from SRNA]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 18 Apr (SRNA-Fonet)—The governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, Dragoslav Avramovic, said in an interview to SRPSKA REC that it is almost impossible for him to be dismissed by the federal Assembly. "They cannot dismiss me. The Assembly has to dismiss me and that is almost impossible," Avramovic said.

Asked if he said this because of the Chamber of Republics and the Montenegrins, who, it appears, are on his side, Avramovic said: "The Constitution says one thing and the Law on the National Bank says another. They can disagree with me on monetary policy but it is not certain that they can dismiss me. That is not clear."

Avramovic said that he had not made any mistakes at the Paris negotiations with representatives of the IMF. "I wanted to bring in money, but they do not want the money. I wanted to establish good relations with these institutions and I was well on the way to achieving it: rescheduling our debts, opening the doors to an inflow of fresh capital, and lifting this country out of the quagmire it has been in. You know, you cannot make anyone happy against their wishes and that is the situation in which I find myself, which does not mean that I will not continue to fight," Avramovic said.

At the insistence of the federal government on the principle of the continuity of the FRY and the SFRY, Avramovic said: "The people from the IMF looked at this and said: If you insist on that, you may have to seek acceptance with new membership. You may have to start all over again. And here we are entering uncharted waters. You may be blocked from new membership by the Islamic countries. You have no rights from before, and I am feeling the heat! It is true that I am finally balancing the dinar exchange rate, but I have no reserves. I have to increase the reserves."

Asked whether the insistence on continuity could indicate a fear of future payment of war reparations, Avramovic said: "I do not believe that there is any connection. The idea is that if you do not prove continuity, the intervention of our army against secession was not justified. This becomes too much of a Talmudic operation, which I do not understand. It is a fact that these republics were secessionist; it is also a fact that the army intervened in defense of the Serb population—no one can change that. The Croats have already said that they believe they have the right to war reparations, but that they will not force the issue."

Kosovo

Kosovo: Rugova Asks France To Open Office in Pristina

AU1804201596 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 18 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Text] After his meetings in Strasbourg, Professor Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the

Republic of Kosova, met with the French minister for European affairs, Michele Barnier, in Paris.

At this meeting, Dr. Rugova described the grave and repressive situation in Kosova and stressed that, despite the violence of the Serbian regime, the people of Kosova are determined to resolve this issue peacefully. During the talks, Rugova reminded the French minister that Kosova was one of the eight units of the former Yugoslav Federation and that, in the process of the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, the Kosovar people had declared themselves in favor of a referendum on independence.

Kosova as an independent and neutral state that is open to Albania and Serbia is the best solution for ensuring stability in the Balkan region.

Rugova asked France to support the right of the Kosovar people to self-determination. Rugova also asked that France have a presence in Kosova by opening an information office in Pristina.

The French minister stated that Kosova is a key issue in normalizing the situation in the Balkan region and that French assistance in this direction will be forthcoming. The minister said that they will examine the possibility of opening an office in Pristina.

During the talks, the French minister highly assessed the peaceful resistance of the Kosovar people and the role played by President Rugova.

Kosovo: Bukoshi Says EU Recognition of FRY 'Offensive'

AU1804151196 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 18 Apr 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Prime Minister of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Bujar Bukoshi met Monday [15 April] in Washington with Rudolf Perina, deputy assistant secretary of state, to discuss Kosova in the wake of the recent developments in the region, Prishtina-based BUJKU newspaper reported today.

Kosova Prime Minister expressed his concern over the recent step by European countries which have recognized the self-styled Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), calling it premature and offensive to the [Kosovo] Albanians.

Dr. Bujar Bukoshi said such a step amounts to undermining the efforts of the international community to avert a conflict in Kosova and the possibility to find a temporary settlement to the Kosova issue.

The recognition of Serbia and Montenegro now and in this manner is a very bad message for the Albanians, said Dr. Bukoshi, calling on the U.S. administration not to recognize the Serb-Montenegrin Federation and to exert influence on other countries to do the same.

Prime Minister Bukoshi said action was needed to prevent the situation in Kosova from further deterioration and getting out of control, warning the international community that not taking concrete actions on Kosova means undermining the credibility of the [Kosovo] Albanian leadership.

Dr. Bukoshi said the Dayton accords do practically recognize the state of the Bosnian Serbs, noting that by all means the Albanians deserve more than them.

Kosova prime minister thanked the continued U.S. support for Kosova.

U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Rudolf Perina, formerly chief of U.S. Mission in Belgrade, assured Prime Minister Bukoshi that United States of America is not prepared to recognize Serbia and Montenegro and reaffirmed the U.S. support for the peaceful policies the Kosova leadership has been pursuing.

Mr. Perina stressed the desire of the U.S.A. to assist in securing a peaceful solution to the Kosova issue, adding that the U.S. and its allies will continue to work on that.

The senior U.S. State Department official emphasized the "outer wall" of sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro will remain in place, as envisioned by the Dayton accords.

Prime Minister of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Bujar Bukoshi told BUJKU his meeting with Perina was "important and useful" for the Albanians.

Dr. Bukoshi, who has been on a trip to the U.S. since Monday, will meet U.S. legislators, including Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, and media representatives on Wednesday and Thursday [17 and 18 April].

Kosovo: Ethnic Albanians Cite Torture by Serb Police

AU1704160096

[FBIS Report] Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English No 857 on 16 April carries several reports on Serbian police violence against Albanians in Kosovo.

Today's issue of BUJKU reports that the Serbian police on 13 April "arrested" Cen Desku, vice chairman, and Fetah Bekolli, secretary of the Democratic League of Kosova (LDK) branch in Malisevo. The report says that "the police stopped them at Banj village of Malisheva around 1900 hrs, searched their car thoroughly, seized party and personal documentation, and eventually took them to the police station in Suhareka (Suva Reka)," where "they were held and interrogated for over two hours." It is said that "the police confiscated their papers and ordered them to report back at same police station again."

Under the headline "Repression Chronicle," sources in Obiliq say that the Serbian police last week apprehended an Albanian from the village of Mazgit i Poshtem at the central bus station in Pristina. A report of the LDK Information Commission in Obiliq says that after the search, the police "found in his possession copies of an Albanian-language magazine published abroad" and took him to the police station in Pristina "where he was held for two days." The Albanian was "subjected to severe police torture and was inflected heavy body injuries."

Under the "pretext of arms searches," the Serbian police on 12 April "raided" the home of a former Kosova policeman at Sibovc village and asked him to "deliver a revolver his brother was allegedly in possession of."

Under the "same pretext," the Serbian police on the dame day "summoned" three other Albanians to "report at the police station."

Sources in Podujevo note that the Serbian police on 12 April searched the home of a Kosova police employee at Bellopoje village.

It is reported from Shtime that an Albanian from Muzeqin village "was detained and subjected to physical torture on 12 and 13 April, in connection with alleged arms possession."

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